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Contents

Volume XCII Numbers 1–2 March–June 2010

Interventions

The Mirrors of *Las Meninas*: Cochineal, Silver, and Clay

Response: Picturing Colonial Encounters

Response: *Las Meninas*: A Decolonial Response

Response: The Invisible? New World

Response: “Why Drag in Velázquez?”

Response: Reflections on Reflections

Interventions: The Author Replies

BYRON ELLSWORTH HAMANN 6

ADAM HERRING 36

WALTER D. MIGNOLO 40

FELIPE PEREDA 47

SUZANNE L. STRATTON-PRUITT 52

EMILY UMBERGER AND
FRANCESCA BAVUSO 54

BYRON ELLSWORTH HAMANN 58

Articles

Family Space: Buddhist Materiality and Ancestral Fashioning in Mogao Cave 231

The diverse integration of family references into the visual program of ninth-century Buddhist caves at Mogao, Dunhuang, marks a turning point in the construction of religious space in medieval China. The examination of Mogao Cave 231 demonstrates the intersection of figural, epigraphic, and decorative references to family patronage, including ancestor portraits, commemorative inscriptions, and depictions of domestic furniture, found throughout the caves. These open multiple perspectives onto the function of cave temples as a hybrid space that bridges the representation of image, object, and architecture as well as the relation between ancestral commemoration and Buddhist devotion.

WINSTON KYAN 61

Portrait of Luca Pacioli and Disciple: A New, Mathematical Look

Although the famous *Portrait of Luca Pacioli and Disciple* is a favorite illustration in surveys of Renaissance history and the history of science and mathematics, little is known about it. A detailed analysis of its contents and cultural context reveals that rather than a simple double portrait, the painting celebrated the achievements of mathematical humanists and their education program. The analytic skills that they championed were based on the visual language of Euclidean geometry. Not surprisingly, the diagrams of the *Elements* as printed by Erhard Ratdolt (Venice, 1482) are the focus of the picture and its complex iconography.

RENZO BALDASSO 83

Reviews

Margaret D. Carroll, *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe: Van Eyck, Bruegel, Rubens, and Their Contemporaries*

REBECCA ZORACH 103

Maria H. Loh, *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art*

JONATHAN UNGLAUB 106

Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity*

JOEL SMITH 109

Reviews Online

114

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Interventions:

The Mirrors of *Las Meninas*: Cochineal, Silver, and Clay

Byron Ellsworth Hamann

I will say at the outset that there is only one world, and although we speak of the Old World and the New, this is because the latter was lately discovered by us, and not because there are two. . . .—Garcilaso de la Vega, “The Inca,” in *Comentarios reales de los Incas* (1609)¹

The *meninas* of history, after all, are always *supposed* to be scarcely looked at and never seen.—Geoffrey Waite, “Lennin in *Las Meninas*: An Essay in Historical-Materialist Vision” (1986)²

Two rectangular images, joined together to form a square, appear on the cover to the 1999 paperback edition of Carlos Fuentes’s *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World* (Fig. 1). On the left is a detail of plate 9 from part 4 of Theodor de Bry’s *Americae* (1594), showing Christopher Columbus landing in the New World. On the right is a detail from Antonio Tejada’s 1955 watercolors of the pre-Hispanic murals at the Maya site of Bonampak. These two details were selected to represent the two “sides” of Fuentes’s subtitle: Spain, the New World.³

Curiously, the book’s original cover illustration—for the dust jacket of the 1992 first edition—features only one visual source: the gathering of princess and courtiers at the center of Diego Velázquez’s 1656 painting *Las meninas* (Fig. 2). One might at first think that the paperback’s cover better displays the connections of “Spain” and “the New World” named in Fuentes’s subtitle. A closer look, however, reveals that *Las meninas* provides an ideal image of the relations between the two shores of the Atlantic—ideal in ways that Fuentes’s commentary on the painting does not address.⁴

“The Realm of Colonial Studies”

Even in the New World, objects created by Amerindian subjects of the Spanish Crown can be difficult to see. With some artifacts, of course, it is relatively easy to recognize indigenous craftsmanship. This is the case with those colonial things that reference pre-Hispanic traditions, such as feather mosaics. However, as Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn have recently argued, other products of indigenous labor are far less visible.⁵ Most of the European-inspired architecture built in colonial Spanish America is invisibly indigenous, erected by Amerindian hands. Yet this labor—which often used methods of construction with pre-Hispanic roots—is not obvious in the columns and vaults we can now see. And the issue of what we can now see is important. As Dean and Leibsohn stress, the visibility or invisibility of indigenous labor is dependent on more than the formal properties of objects made in colonial Spanish America. This visibility or invisibility also depends on how we, now, in the twenty-first century, look at centuries-old things. What signs of indigenous labor do we search for and

recognize? And what are the appropriate places where we would look for such signs?

One unexpected site for studying the (in)visibility of indigenous labor is a canonic canvas in Western art: Velázquez’s *Las meninas*. When viewed through the lenses of materialist and postcolonial theory, this painting reveals the transatlantic connections linking Amerindian laborers in the New World to Spanish courtiers in Madrid. *Las meninas*, then, can be included within what Dean and Leibsohn call “the realm of colonial studies.”⁶

These transatlantic connections are rendered visible in three painted details: the red ceramic vessel Infanta Margarita reaches for, the silver tray this vessel rests on, and the red curtains reflected in the mirror at the back of the room (Fig. 3). All three signal products of the New World, products of the labor of Amerindian subjects of the Crown. All are objects whose depiction by Velázquez in this painting was made possible by Spain’s colonial empire.

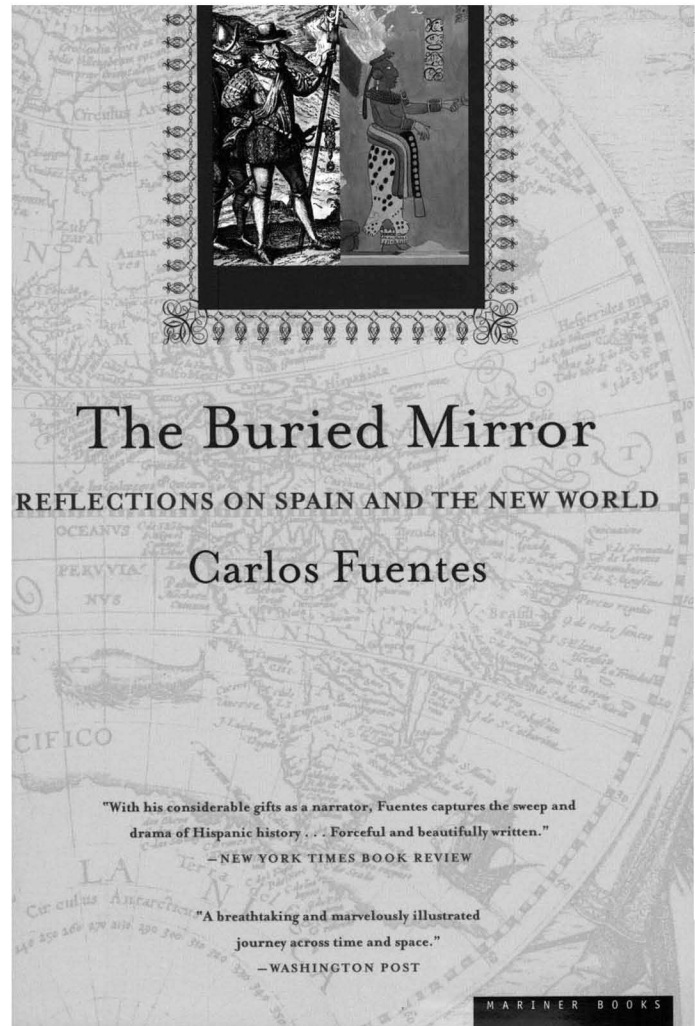
Where nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century responses to *Las meninas* saw the canvas in terms of photographic, impressionist, and realist aesthetics, interpretations since the second half of the twentieth century have focused either on philosophies of vision or on the elite artistic culture of seventeenth-century Madrid.⁷ The philosophical mode of interpretation was sparked by Michel Foucault, whose essay on the painting explored issues of visibility and invisibility: Velázquez is shown at work on a canvas, but its surface cannot be seen; the king and queen are reflected in the central mirror but not otherwise present in the painting; the gazes of the courtiers look beyond the limits of the picture.⁸ A number of scholars responding to Foucault’s essay also discussed the painting as a meditation on the nature of representation: articles by John Searle (1980), Joel Snyder and Ted Cohen (1980), Leo Steinberg (1981), Svetlana Alpers (1983), Denis Donoghue and Charles Karelis (both in 1985), W. J. T. Mitchell (1994), and Amy Schmitter (1996).⁹

In contrast, other studies of *Las meninas* have explored the aesthetic and elite contexts for the painting’s production in seventeenth-century Madrid. Charles de Tolnay (1949), George Kubler (1966), Madlyn Millner Kahr (1975), Mary Crawford Volk (1978), and, most influentially, Jonathan Brown (1978, 1986) have argued that Velázquez, by depicting himself painting in the presence of the Spanish monarchs, meant to defend the nobility of painting as a liberal art (as opposed to mere craftsmanship).¹⁰ J. A. Emmens (1961), Snyder (1985), and Santiago Sebastián (1989) have used emblem books present in Velázquez’s library to propose that the canvas is a didactic “mirror for princes”—or, specifically, for Princess Margarita portrayed in the center of the composition.¹¹ Victor Stoichita (1985), Juan Miguel Serrera (1993), Fernando Marías (1993, 2000), Emily Umberger (1995), and George and Linda Bauer (2000) have considered the paint-

ing in terms of the techniques and conceptualizations of seventeenth-century royal portraiture.¹² The apotheosis of these Madrid-centric studies can be found in the dozen publications that reconstruct the layout of the Cuarto Bajo del Príncipe (Prince's Lower Quarters), in which *Las meninas* takes place. These include diagrammed discussions by Ramiro de Moya and Carlos de Inza (1961), Antonio Buero Vallejo (1970), Bartolomé Mestre Fiol (1972, 1973), Bo Vahlne (1982), Steven Orso (1982, 1986), John Moffitt (1983, 1986), Frederic Chordá (1991), and Ángel del Campo y Francés (1991, 1992).¹³

But there is another contextual approach to the reading of *Las meninas*, one that has not been highlighted in the surveys of interpretative literature published by Brown (1978), Alice Sedgwick Wohl (1987), Marias (1995), and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (2003).¹⁴ *Las meninas* can be linked to the world beyond Madrid, placed within the economic context of mid-seventeenth-century Spain and its colonial empire. As early as 1963, J. H. Elliott connected the later works of Velázquez to Spain's economic crisis in the mid-seventeenth century: "Velázquez caught in his paintings the sense of failure, the sudden emptiness of the imperial splendor."¹⁵ A decade later, Juan Downey's 1975 video *Maids of Honor* (which recreated *Las meninas* as a tableau vivant) featured a voice-over of excerpts from the final chapter of Kubler's *The Shape of Time*, excerpts that addressed New World colonization, economic crisis, and the art of seventeenth-century Spain.¹⁶ Yet another decade later, in 1986, an essay by Geoffrey Waite ("Lenin in *Las Meninas*: An Essay in Historical-Materialist Vision") and a massive painting by Peter Waite (*Lenin: The Self-Described Cultural Barbarian*) imagined how Vladimir Lenin would have "walked through" Velázquez's painting: asking questions about Spain's mid-seventeenth-century economy, thinking about the wealth extracted from Spain's empire in the East and West Indies.¹⁷ More recently, studies of ceramic production in the colonial New World have asserted that the shining red ceramic offered to Infanta Margarita in *Las meninas* was produced in Guadalajara, New Spain: passing references are made by María Concepción García Sáiz and María Ángeles Albert (1991) and Mitchell Coddington (2006), and a longer discussion appears in Natasha Seseña's "El búcaro de *Las Meninas*" (1991).¹⁸

There is, then, an already existing tradition of materialist commentary about *Las meninas*. I combine this tradition with postcolonial strategies of intervention into the Western literary canon. In 1985, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak published "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," a provocative essay in *Critical Inquiry*. "It should not be possible," Spivak began, "to read nineteenth-century British literature without remembering imperialism."¹⁹ Spivak pointed out that many canonic texts from that century make explicit reference to colonial possessions, either in passing or in ways critical to the plot—such as the role of the West Indies in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. Spivak therefore suggests that critics could highlight such connections by reading canonic European texts alongside documents from "the archives of imperial governance." She does not, alas, actually turn to those archives in her essay.²⁰ Not quite a decade later, Edward Said envisioned a similar strategy in his 1993 *Culture and Imperialism*. "We must therefore read the great canonical



1 Christopher J. Moisan, front cover of Carlos Fuentes, *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World*, Boston: Mariner Books, 1999 (photograph by the author)

texts, and perhaps also the entire archive of modern and pre-modern European and American culture, with an effort to draw out, extend, give emphasis and voice to what is silent or marginally present. . . ."²¹ Like Spivak, Said was interested in the Western literary canon, and in the traces of colonialism that can be found within its written-in-Europe texts. Like Spivak, Said recommended reading those canonic works alongside documents from Europe's colonial world. For example, Said juxtaposed *Description de l'Égypte* (a series of massive tomes on Egyptian natural history published between 1809 and 1828) with *'Aja'ib al-Athar* of 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti (a chronicle of Egyptian life published between 1805 and 1821). The *Description* was made possible by Napoleon's conquest, but it makes little if any reference to the Egyptians killed and subjugated as a result. In contrast, al-Jabarti (an Egyptian Muslim) wrote in detail of the ongoing social disruptions that began with the French invasion. Similarly (in *Culture and Imperialism*'s most talked-about intervention), Said proposed that the passing references to a Caribbean slave plantation in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* be read "contrapuntally" alongside histories of Caribbean slavery written in the twentieth century, such as Eric Williams's *Capitalism and Slavery* and C. L. R. James's *Black Jacobins*.²²



2 Diego Velázquez, *Las meninas*, 1656, oil on canvas, 10 ft. 5 in. × 9 ft. (3.18 × 2.76 m). Museo del Prado, Madrid, acc. no. 1174 (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Erich Lessing, provided by Art Resource, NY)

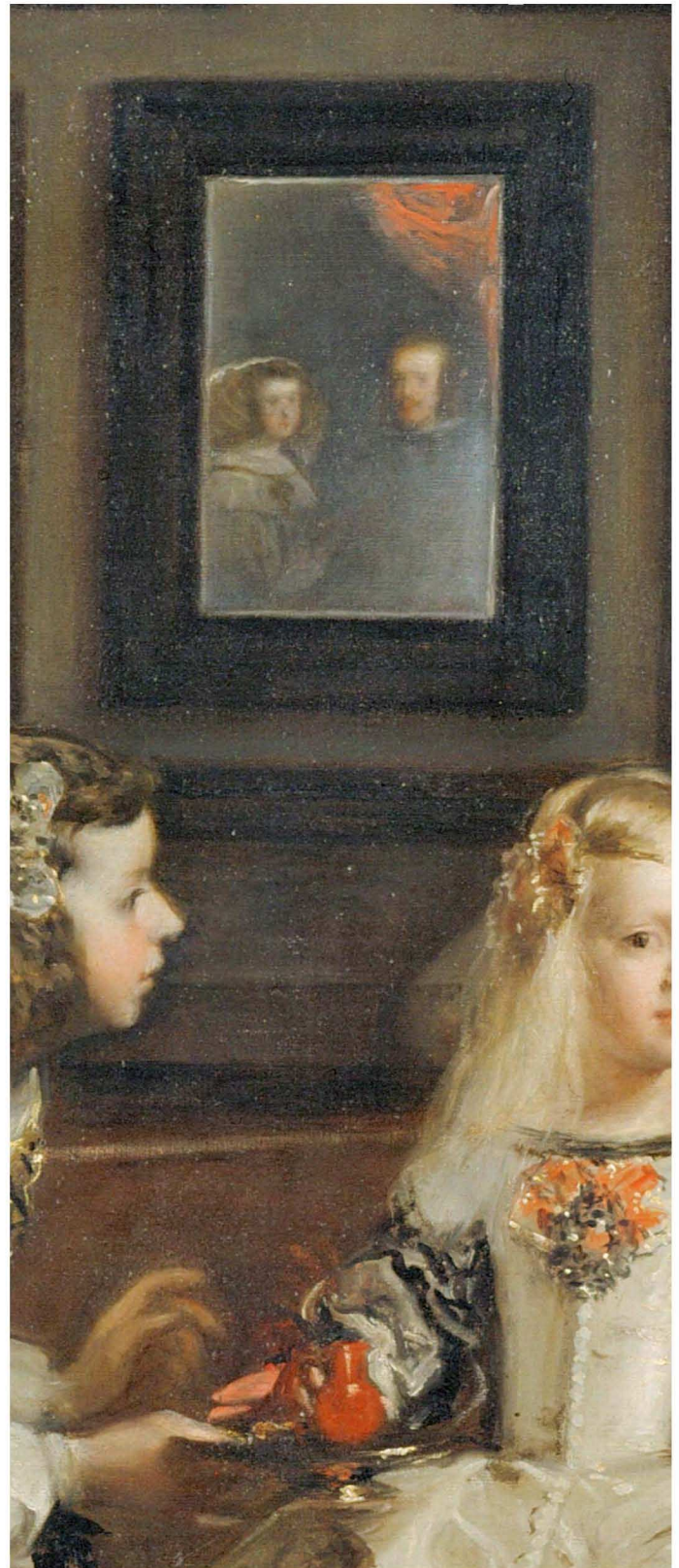
What is especially compelling about the strategies proposed by Spivak and Said is that neither argues that the works of the Western canon exclude the rest of the world—and that therefore the way to create a more inclusive canon

is simply to add the works of writers, say, from India and the Caribbean.²³ Rather, since the history of the West (for the past five centuries, at least) is inseparable from the colonization of much of the rest of the world, the traces of colonized

worlds are already present within the canon itself. These worlds formed “the background, the shadow” to daily life in the West.²⁴ As a result, these traces can serve as the starting point for writing contrapuntal, connected histories that balance discussions of European metropolises with events in trans-oceanic colonies.²⁵

Said made passing reference to the visual arts throughout *Culture and Imperialism*, but apart from a discussion (unillustrated) of the role of engravings from the *Description de l'Égypte* in the costume and set designs for Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida*, he did not engage with images. Nor did Spivak in “Three Women's Texts.” Both Spivak and Said focus on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the following pages, these strategies of postcolonial literary intervention are applied to images, images from an earlier era of Western colonization. Of course, it has long been realized that seventeenth-century still life paintings are filled with representations of objects from the far-flung reaches of the globe.²⁶ It has long been common to interpret these paintings by comparing them with three-dimensional objects (made in China, made in the New World) now housed in museums.²⁷ Again, this method's literary equivalent in *Culture and Imperialism* is Said's discussion of *Aida*, in which a European work of art obviously about the non-European world (ancient Egypt) is interpreted using visual sources also about that non-European world (the ancient Egyptian sites and objects reproduced in the *Description*). Although I will make use of this style of analysis, my main strategy, centered on seemingly marginal details of material culture in *Las meninas*, is more along the lines of Said's intervention into *Mansfield Park*. Said takes a novel that, on its surface, seems to have nothing to do with the British imperial world. He then reveals how that novel connects itself to that colonial world in subtle, significant, and—before Said—all but overlooked ways.

In each of the following three sections, I use different combinations of sources and different methods for interpreting them.²⁸ “Globalization” joins a travelogue, two probate inventories, and three still life paintings in order to think generally about the “geographic imaginary” revealed by commodities in well-to-do seventeenth-century households. All six sources, like *Las meninas*, reference burnished red ceramics, silver tableware, and deep red textiles—in addition to dozens of other luxury goods from Asia, the Americas, and the circum-Mediterranean. I draw on critiques of globalization scholarship to consider what these six sources tell us about “the global” and “the local” in seventeenth-century material culture. “Materiality” focuses this broad geographic vision. Starting from Jan Baptist Bedaux's ideas about material culture and social symbolism, I consider the details of seventeenth-century understandings of burnished red ceramics, silver, and cochineal-dyed cloth. As in the first section, my sources include probate inventories and still life paintings, as well as economic treatises and museum collections. Finally, “Portraiture” turns from the consumption of luxury goods in Europe to the production of luxury goods in Europe's colonies. The cup, tray, and curtain of *Las meninas* are each linked to an illustrated document about Spanish America. I use these documents to evoke three portraits of nonelite laborers in the New World, people we can imagine standing among the elite men and women, boy and girl, even mastiff, corpo-



3 Velázquez, *Las meninas*, detail showing the cup, tray, and curtain (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Erich Lessing, provided by Art Resource, NY)

really depicted in *Las meninas*. These contrapuntal readings illuminate the different forms of seventeenth-century portraiture and, at the same time, reveal how transatlantic economies were more than abstract systems: they were far-flung

social relations connecting people through acts of production and consumption. This section concludes by returning to Europe, and shows how New World products underscore the themes of portraiture and labor discussed by previous interpreters of *Las meninas*. As a whole, “Portraiture” places *Las meninas* within a transatlantic archive and highlights that archive’s internal tensions: the gap, for example, between what images show and what alphabetic texts claim.²⁹

Ultimately, cup, tray, and curtain can be viewed as virtual portraits of New World laborers. And this brings us to the mirrors of *Las meninas*. These could refer to a number of desecrating devices. Most obviously, there is the mirror at the back of the painting’s room reflecting the curtain that will detain us later. More subtly, there is the mirror or mirrors in which Velázquez gazed to create the self-portrait he included in the canvas. (Probate inventories indicate that he and his wife Juana Pacheco owned ten mirrors at the time of their deaths, separated by a week, in 1660.)³⁰ However—using Karl Marx’s ideas about commodities as mirrors, as reflections—the mirrors of *Las meninas* in which I am most interested are the painting’s cup, tray, and curtain. When we gaze on these objects, colonial Spanish America becomes visible.³¹

One of the repeated themes in *Las meninas* scholarship has been an interest in what the painting does *not* represent, or represents indirectly. What are the shadowed paintings in its background? What is the subject of the canvas that Velázquez is shown working on? What is the mirror reflecting? What do the characters looking out from the painting see before them? I, too, use painted details to consider what is not shown but suggested: the world that existed beyond the ebony frame of *Las meninas*.

Globalization

The flurry of publications on globalization over the past decade has attracted several repeated criticisms. Late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century connectedness is claimed to be something radically new (rather than simply the latest phase in centuries-old patterns of intercontinental ties). Contemporary “globalization” is imagined as an already achieved, homogeneous network joining every part of the globe to every other part of the globe (rather than an uneven series of pathways that do not link every place equally, pathways that often tread older channels forged by colonialism). “The global” is problematically opposed to “the local” (as if there could be global things that were not at the same time complexly tied to specific places).³² Here, I engage with these critiques of globalization literature by contextualizing the cup, tray, and curtain rendered in *Las meninas* within the “geographic imaginary” of seventeenth-century Spain.

My focus on the cup, tray, and curtain in *Las meninas* might at first seem to overemphasize three obscure and unimportant details, insignificant props in a complex composition. In fact, these three types of objects are often found together in documents chronicling well-to-do seventeenth-century life. Far from being unusual objects accidentally depicted together in *Las meninas*, they are things that were commonly seen in affluent households. Such households, of course, were also filled with many other types of luxury items. Six different sources about the material world of seventeenth-century Spain—a travelogue, two probate inventories, and

three still life paintings—help us to consider how cups, trays, and curtains related to a broader world of goods. All six sources exhibit a detailed sensitivity to the connections linking objects to the places where they were made. Mapping this “geographic imaginary” is a first step for thinking about the New World things depicted in *Las meninas*.³³

On June 13, 1693, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri departed from his home in Naples (which, like much of the New World, was an extra-Iberian kingdom ruled from Madrid) to begin a journey around the world. He returned over five years later, on December 3, 1698.³⁴ He quickly published a six-volume account of his travels: from Naples to Egypt, then to Persia, India, China, the Philippines, New Spain, Seville, and, finally, Naples. Twenty years later, he published an expanded nine-volume edition. One of the ways Gemelli Careri had funded his travels was by purchasing and reselling commodities as he went. Volume 6 (*Nuova Spagna*) of the 1719 edition begins by offering readers advice on how they might do the same.³⁵ The New World was Spain’s direct source for both Asian and American commodities: products from Asia were shipped across the Pacific from Manila to Acapulco, carried overland to Veracruz, and then (joined by New World goods) shipped across the Atlantic. Because of this, Gemelli Careri’s volume on New Spain opens with a discussion of the Asian commodities that could be purchased there: textiles from Coromandel and Bengal; silk, porcelain, and fans from China; pearls from Persia. He even suggested selling Persian pearls to residents of the New World (who paid good prices for them), and then using the money to buy the cheaper, irregularly shaped pearls of the New World (which could then be easily sold to middle-class consumers in Europe). He recommended buying other New World commodities as well. Emeralds from Santa Fe (now Colombia) sold well both in Europe and in Asia (where, Gemelli Careri noted, Muslim elites were especially attracted by their green color). Gold and silver ingots could also be acquired in the New World, but import taxes in Europe made them a problematic investment. Better buys included tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl, vanilla, cochineal (a source for red dye), chocolate (the best came from Caracas), tobacco (from Havana), and “fine clay vases, which we call *búcaros*, especially the blood red and black ones which are made in Guadalajara.”³⁶ In his text, Gemelli Careri composed a merchant’s still life painting, overflowing with goods. The pathways of his commodity exchanges circumnavigated the globe: pearls bought in Persia could be sold in the New World, and, in turn, emeralds bought in the New World could be sold to Muslim princes in Persia. Significantly, Gemelli Careri linked many of these goods to a specific place of origin: China, Coromandel, Persia, Santa Fe, Caracas, Havana, Guadalajara.

Such far-flung commodities did not lose their geographic associations when they were purchased from merchants and used to appoint well-to-do homes. Seventeenth-century probate inventories (the lists of goods owned by a person at death) echo Gemelli Careri’s list of commodities: the contents of these inventories circle the globe, and they provide homely registers of the trade routes that linked Iberia to much of the world. Consider two examples from Madrid, that of Don Fernando de Valenzuela (compiled by notaries between January 28 and April 14, 1677) and that of the Condesa

de Oñate (compiled by notaries between September 27, 1684, and May 12, 1685). As in Gemelli Careri's alphabetic still life, both owned goods from Asia. Valenzuela had in his possession blue-and-white Chinese porcelains, bed curtains of Chinese gauze and painted cotton, and a dressing gown of Chinese satin.³⁷ Oñate had owned white, blue-and-white, and "textured" porcelains from China, as well as fifty-eight potted "Chinese orange trees" (as distinct from other potted orange trees both "ordinary" and "from Portugal").³⁸ She owned five carpets from India and at least five images of Christ carved in ivory (which would have been made in East Asia).³⁹ Crossing the Pacific, both Valenzuela and Oñate also owned objects from the New World. The "fine clay vases, which we call *búcaros*" mentioned by Gemelli Careri appear in both inventories. Some are indeed from Guadalajara (in both red and black), but others come from Nata (near Panama) and Chile.⁴⁰ Many of these *búcaros* were further enhanced by chasings of silver.⁴¹ Valenzuela owned two images of the Virgin of Copacabana (a shrine in the Kingdom of Peru). Both he and Oñate had stored vast quantities of cacao, some of which is specified in both inventories as coming from Oaxaca (fifty boxes for Valenzuela, twenty boxes for Oñate). Both owned *chocolateros* (chocolate pots) for making the foamed beverage.⁴² Valenzuela and Oñate also possessed objects that, although not explicitly described as such, were made from New World substances described by Gemelli Careri. Both collected vast quantities of silver cups, dishes, pitchers, and serving trays, some of them gilded.⁴³ Both decorated their houses with hundreds of yards of cochineal-dyed *carmesí*-colored draperies, in taffeta, damask, and velvet.⁴⁴ Both owned emerald jewelry.⁴⁵ Crossing the Atlantic, both Valenzuela and Oñate possessed objects from the greater circum-Mediterranean (Moscow, Turkey, Cairo, Genoa, Portugal). *Búcaros* were made not only in the New World but also in the Kingdom of Portugal. Valenzuela had one from Estremoz, bound in silver; Oñate owned dozens "from Estremoz" and "from Portugal," listed alongside her Venetian glassware.⁴⁶ Oñate's ceramics came from elsewhere in Iberia as well, from southwestern Talavera and Salvatierra and from northeastern Lamaya.⁴⁷ Both owned carpets from Turkey, Cairo, and Alcaraz (in southeastern Iberia), as well as tapestries from Brussels; among Valenzuela's carpets were some from Messina (on the island of Sicily) as well.⁴⁸ Both boasted ebony writing desks from Portugal, chests from Moscow, and gloves from Rome.⁴⁹ Valenzuela also owned gloves from Genoa, a fur muff of Muscovy sable and another of German sable, eight fans from Naples, a bedspread from Cologne, a sword from Milan, an arquebus from Bresa (in northern Italy), and clocks from Paris, Germany, and Rome.⁵⁰ One of these timepieces was signed by its maker, José Campana.⁵¹ Oñate owned clocks from Rome and one from Milan, rosaries from Jerusalem, beds of Portuguese *palo santo* wood, and writing desks of jasper from Naples, distinguished from writing desks of jasper from Tortosa.⁵² Obviously, these precise geographic distinctions were included in probate inventories to help decide how much each object was worth. In other words, geographic origins were not trivial details. Being able to recognize such origins was important for determining the value of goods. A fur muff from Moscow was different from a fur muff from Germany: the former cost three times as much.

The detailed interest in the geography of commodities that we find in travelogue and probate inventories would have also shaped the creation and reception of still life paintings.⁵³ Consider these three works: a pair of still lifes painted by Antonio de Pereda in Madrid in 1652 and a massive canvas painted by Giuseppe Recco in Naples in 1679 (and probably brought to Spain by Francisco de Benavides, who served as the viceroy of Naples from 1688 to 1696; Figs. 4–6).⁵⁴ As in the three alphabetic documents we just looked at, all three paintings depict objects from Asia, the New World, and the circum-Mediterranean. Indeed, many of the objects listed in the texts we just examined appear on these three canvases.

The forms and decoration of two cups in the lower left corner of the first Pereda canvas (one chipped, blue and white; the other round, orange on white) were popular in mid-seventeenth-century China (Fig. 4). In the second Pereda canvas (Fig. 5), the scalloped blue-and-white bowl in the lower right-hand corner was a style popular during the reign of the Ming Emperor Wanli (1573–1620).⁵⁵ The same canvas also portrays seashells from the East Indies: the round and speckled *Cypraea tigris*, the spiky *Murex brevispina*, the orange *Spondylus princeps*. In turn, Recco (Fig. 6) shows a blue-and-white Chinese cup (bound in silver, as were Chinese porcelains owned by Valenzuela) at the left edge of a pile of ceramics being carried by the black slave.

Recco's canvas is littered with New World ceramics as well: no fewer than nine burnished red *búcaros* from Guadalajara appear, as well as burnished black *búcaros* from Guadalajara or Nata.⁵⁶ Another black *búcaro*, bound in silver, rests on top of the inlaid ebony chest in the first Pereda painting. Behind it sits a small burnished red Guadalupean *búcaro*, and to the right is another red *búcaro*, whose complex appliques suggest it was made in Chile. *Búcaros* are not the only New World objects shown on Pereda's first canvas: a number of the objects displayed were used for consuming liquid chocolate. A polychrome lacquered gourd from Michoacan is placed on the ebony chest, in front of the *búcaro* from Chile.⁵⁷ An elaborately woven textile emerges from one of the chest's drawers: this is a *pañó de chocolate*, a type of napkin frequently mentioned in probate inventories from both Spain and New Spain. Such *pañós* were presumably used to wipe off the chocolate mustaches produced by the fashionably foamed New World beverage. We can assume, given its striking weave, that seventeenth-century viewers could have geographically pinpointed this textile's origins: probate inventories specify *pañós de chocolate* from Guatemala, Campeche, the Mixteca, and China.⁵⁸ The round wooden box to the far right of the *pañó* may contain chocolate, and to the left, Pereda has rendered a copper chocolate-heating pot and a wooden whisk for beating the beverage into a foam. The painting's pendant does not contain as many direct references to New World goods, but Pereda has included a magnificent Guadalupean bottle and pitcher, both deep red, both burnished. As in the probate inventories of Oñate and Valenzuela, more subtle references to New World products are found in all three still lifes as well. Cochineal-dyed *carmesí*-colored cloth covers the table in the first Pereda painting and hangs as a curtain in the background of the second (mirrored by the gray background wall in the first painting and the gray stone table in the second). A silver spoon and plate are painted in the first Pereda painting; a lobed silver vessel hides in the shadow of the Guadalupean pitcher in the second. Similarly,



4 Antonio de Pereda, *Still Life with Ebony Desk*, 1652, oil on canvas, 31½ × 37 in. (80 × 94 cm). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. 327 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Scala/Art Resource, NY)

a burgundy drapery hangs in the upper left corner of the Recco canvas, and the black slave bears a gilded silver charger laden with ceramics and a silver-chased coconut-shell cup.

Finally, all canvases include goods from the circum-Mediterranean. A blue-and-yellow Talavera pitcher appears on the right side of the first Pereda canvas. At the center of the same canvas gleams a round glass jar filled with *aloja* (an aromatic beverage popular in southern Iberia); in the center of its pendant is the round, shining face of a clock inscribed with the name of its maker (Claude Railler) and place of manufacture (Paris).⁵⁹ To the right of the clock's base, bound in silver filigree, is a lobed vessel whose slightly burnished terracotta-color suggests it is a Portuguese *búcaro*.⁶⁰ Behind it are two works of Venetian glassware, and on top of the blue-and-white Wanli plate rests a white pitcher from Seville.⁶¹ An even more complex assortment of circum-Mediterranean ceramics is depicted on Recco's canvas. A blue-and-white cherub-painted charger in the foreground resembles ceramics created in the Netherlands in the late 1670s; in addition to holding two Guadalajaran *búcaros*, it also contains a late-sixteenth-century Ottoman pitcher and two examples of sixteenth-century majolica from northern Italy: a small bowl and a plate illustrating the myth of Daphne and Apollo.⁶² Such sixteenth-century ceramics were already antiques when this canvas was painted, but in the background, on the table, are even more ancient objects: three red-on-black vessels from the fourth century BCE. Originally owned by Greek colonists in southern Italy, in the seventeenth century these ceramics were being discovered in forgotten tombs outside the city of Naples.⁶³ And although these objects are ancient, they are unbroken, in contrast to the shattered Guadalajaran *búcaros*

and Venetian glass vessels shown in the lower right corner of the canvas. A final geographic reference in Recco's canvas, pointing to Africa, is the silver- and ceramic-bearing black slave. It should not come as a surprise that such slaves were listed as possessions in probate inventories and dowries; one 1668 example from Mexico City enumerates, in order, two silver candlesticks, a pair of silver scissors, eight coconut cups chased in silver, a mulatta slave named Felipa (aged twenty), a black slave named Francisca (aged eighteen), a new blue lamé dress with Flemish ornamentation. . . .⁶⁴

What do these six sumptuously detailed sources tell us about luxury goods in seventeenth-century Europe, and the place of the cup, tray, and curtain of *Las meninas* among them? First, they map the global connections, and disconnections, of the seventeenth-century Iberian empire. The ties of relatively local trade are revealed in goods from the greater circum-Mediterranean. Spain's imperial presence in the New World and the Philippines is embodied in things from the Americas (Guadalajara, Santa Fe, Michoacan, Havana) and from East Asia (China, Bengal, Coromandel). But nothing in these six sources comes from North America, and sub-Saharan Africa is evoked only by the presence of the black slave and goods made from ivory.⁶⁵ The material geography of well-to-do households in seventeenth-century Madrid and Naples, then, was extensive, but it followed the contours of empire, and not every corner of the then-known world was represented.

Second, these objects give us an idea how the world of seventeenth-century Europeans was conceptualized. Significantly, none of these six sources presents a simple division of the globe into a "local" (meaning, say, Spain or Europe)

5 Pereda, *Still Life with Clock*, 1652, oil on canvas, $31\frac{1}{8} \times 35\frac{7}{8}$ in. (79 × 91 cm). Pushkin Museum, Moscow (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Scala/Art Resource, NY)



6 Giuseppe Recco, *Still Life with Servant*, 1679, oil on canvas, $69\frac{1}{4} \times 104\frac{3}{4}$ in. (176 × 255 cm). Casa de Pilatos, Seville (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli)



and a “global” or “exotic” (encompassing everywhere else). Rather, the world of goods was seen as a world of specific, local places, each famed for the particular objects produced there. On the one hand, this world is imagined as a series of cities, which began in Iberia (Lamaya, Talavera, Estremoz) and then extended east and north (Genoa, Mesina, Paris, Moscow, Cairo) and west (Havana, Guadalajara, Nata)—but not south of the Sahara, or all the way to East Asia (in these

sources, at least, no East Asian city is mentioned by name). Places in East Asia, however, appear in a second way the globe was imagined, as a series of kingdoms: Portugal, Germany, Turkey, Persia, Bengal, China, Santa Fe. The products of all of these specific cities and kingdoms are mixed together in the six sources we have looked at; no linguistic or visual techniques are used to create a border between the “local” and the “global” or the “domestic” and the “exotic.” This



7 Jan van Eyck, *The Marriage of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*, 1434, oil on oak, 32 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (82 × 60 cm). National Gallery, London (artwork in the public domain; photograph © National Gallery, London, provided by Art Resource, NY)

geographic vision, then, is the one articulated by Garcilaso de la Vega in 1609 (“... there is only one world. . .”). This vision also has much in common with Horst Bredekamp’s observations about the combination of “European” and “foreign” goods in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cabinets of curiosities: “Though *exotica* was an important area of collecting that was woven into all three kingdoms of nature as well as the sphere of *artificialia*, it was not specifically accommodated . . . exotic materials were placed side by side with European artifacts. . . integrated visually in a non-hierarchical fashion.”⁶⁶ Similar observations are made by Dean and Leibsohn when they discuss the lists of belongings drawn up in 1662 and 1665 by Doña Isabel Uypa Cuca, a woman of noble Inca heritage living in Cuzco, Peru. She owned garments cut in both Spanish and Andean styles and made of Spanish baize, Chinese silk, and Andean cotton and alpaca fiber; other belongings share a similarly far-flung combination of styles and materials. “Yet in her own accounts of her possessions there appears no suggestion that their particular heterogeneity was in any way remarkable to either her or her contemporaries.”⁶⁷ The connection between the marked and the unremarkable is meaningful here. Doña Isabel clearly found it important to mark the geographic connections of

her various possessions. As we have seen for Spain, though, a rich geography of household goods was unremarkable in prosperous households. Indeed, as still life paintings suggest, and as inventories make clearer, geographic origins (whether local or distant) were a consciously savored aspect of the value of these things.

The unremarkable geographic markedness of all of these commodities points to an important contrast separating the geographic imaginary of seventeenth-century materiality from that of the early twenty-first century. Perhaps the most common characterization of our millennial globalized world is that it is a place where space and time are compressed and collapsed, a place where first-world capital is always shifting the third-world sites of its exploitation in order to cut costs, avoid regulations, and maximize profits.⁶⁸ In other times and places, however, transoceanic and transcontinental economics have not been envisioned in terms of the erasure of space and time.⁶⁹ Instead, the *crossing* of space was central to the creation of value.⁷⁰ In such economies, “difference was an important precondition of trade.” “Distinctive origins were retained, not homogenized.”⁷¹ Arjun Appadurai characterizes such systems of value as “cultural economies of distance,” and it should be clear that this kind of cultural economy was important in seventeenth-century Europe.⁷² The cup, tray, and curtain of *Las meninas*, then, were not strange or unusual oddities randomly brought together in Velázquez’s composition. Such goods formed part of the expected fabric of daily life in well-to-do households. And, like many other items in such households, they were valued *because* they were made of substances that came from specific places and had crossed particular distances.

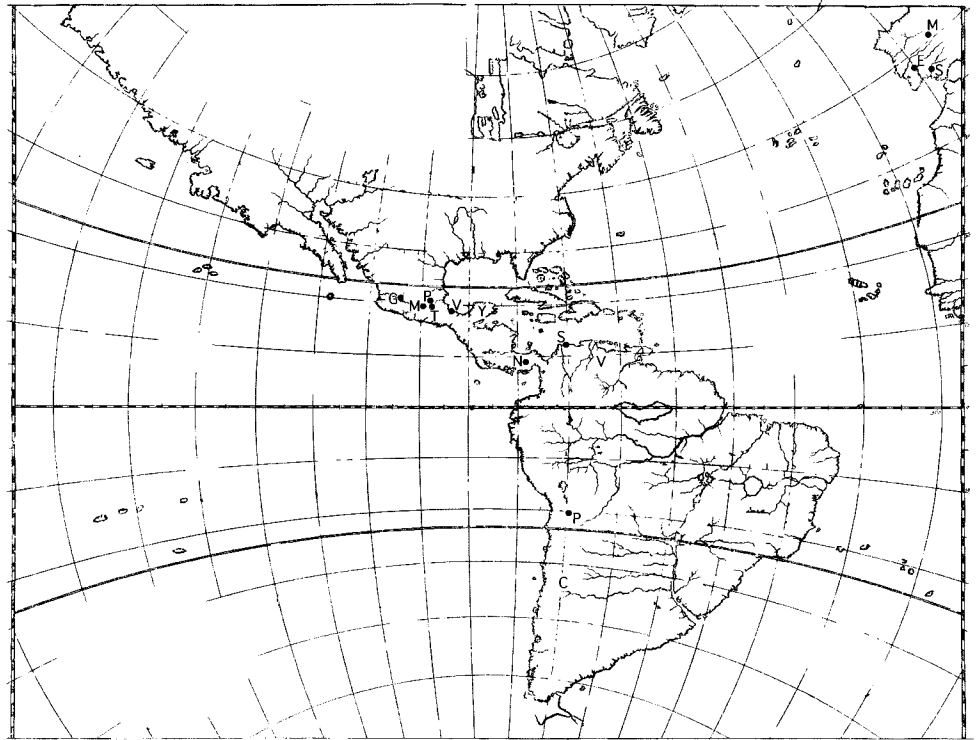
Materiality

Velázquez often incorporated visual references to the paintings of other artists in his works.⁷³ The mirror depicted at the back of the room in *Las meninas* was probably inspired by a similarly placed mirror in Jan van Eyck’s 1434 *The Marriage of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*. This painting formed part of the royal collections in Madrid in the seventeenth century (Fig. 7). The bride and groom dominate the panel’s foreground, and a convex mirror on the back wall reflects not only the newlyweds but also two figures who are not otherwise seen: the artist van Eyck and another witness to the marriage.

But the mirror is not the only object decorating the room illustrated in this portrait. It is filled with things: a short broom, a chandelier in which one candle burns, wooden undershoes, an elaborate carpet, a well-bred dog. In 1934, Erwin Panofsky tried to make sense of these material details, arguing that they represented “disguised symbols.” That is, these seemingly mundane objects were in fact laden with symbolic meanings invented by van Eyck and used to construct a hidden layer of allegory within the work. Panofsky believed the dog, for example, to be a disguised symbol for marital fidelity.

Half a century later, in 1986, Jan Baptist Bedaux challenged Panofsky’s interpretation by showing that such objects, far from being symbols invented by van Eyck, were in fact material paraphernalia used in fifteenth-century weddings. That is, they earned their place in the painting because they had important roles to play in the enactment of a union.

8 Map of locations mentioned in the text, based on “Americae Nova Tabulae” in part 11 of Joan Blaeu, *Grooten Atlas*, Amsterdam, 1648–64. *Middle America*: G=Guadalajara (and Tonalá), M=Mexico City, P=Pachuca, T=Tlaxcala, V=Veracruz, Y=Yucatán (region), N=Nata; *South America*: S=Santa Marta, V=Venezuela (region), P=Potosí, C=Chile (region); *Iberia*: M=Madrid, E=Estremoz, S=Seville. With the exception of Pachuca, Tlaxcala, Venezuela, and Estremoz (which do not appear on the Blaeu original), all labels have been situated according to their locations on the Blaeu map



In critiquing Panofsky's idea of disguised symbolism, Bedaux did not claim that these objects had no meanings:

These acts and objects formed an actual part of the practice of contracting of marriage. It stands to reason that they have a symbolic significance within the marriage ritual; after all this is something inherent in rituals. For this reason, although we are concerned with painted symbols their symbolic value need not necessarily be an invention of the painter.⁷⁴

These objects, then, were *not* disguised, but symbols whose meanings were widely known.

“Globalization” considered the cup, tray, and curtain of *Las meninas* within the broad geographic imaginary of seventeenth-century commodities. Now, following Bedaux, we consider the specific connections and evocations each possessed (Fig. 8). Objects are central to human social life, and their use by people endows them with complex meanings. By placing these objects in his canvas, Velázquez could not help but bring their complex associations into his composition.⁷⁵

In 1715 and 1724, Antonio Palomino de Castro published (after long delays, including the start of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1701) his two-volume work on Iberian art, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* and *El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*. The second volume contained artist biographies, including one for Velázquez. Palomino (born a year before *Las meninas* was created) arrived at the Madrid court after 1680, and so his comments were shaped by what he learned from courtiers who had known Velázquez.⁷⁶ Palomino's biography has been very important for scholarship on *Las meninas*. In addition to describing the painting's production (during which king, queen, and courtiers frequently visited Velázquez's studio to watch the work in progress)

and subsequent reception (including Luca Giordano's awed proclamation that it was “the Theology of painting”⁷⁷), Palomino identified most of the figures in Velázquez's canvas, from Infanta Margarita (at the painting's center) to the queen's *aposeñador* (chamberlain) José Nieto (silhouetted in the doorway at the back of the room).

Palomino also names the red cup for which Infanta Margarita reaches out: it is a “bucaro.”⁷⁸ According to the 1726 *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, a *bucaro* is “a vessel of fine and fragrant clay, in which water is poured to drink, and acquire a pleasant and fragrant flavor. They have different shapes and sizes. They come from the Indies, and are much esteemed and treasured.” Earlier in the same volume, the term *barro* is offered as a synonym for *bucaro*, and its definition notes that “in color and luster they are somewhat similar to the *barros* or *bucaros* which are brought from Estremóz in Portugal.”⁷⁹

Here, then, is evidence that early modern viewers were attentive to the material objects depicted in *Las meninas*.⁸⁰ Yet the *Diccionario*'s definitions raise a number of issues. *Bucaros* (or *barros*) were produced in both Portugal and the New World—although the dictionary writer is careful to note that Old and New World *bucaros* did not look exactly alike (“son algo semejantes”). Two questions arise. Were seventeenth-century viewers able to distinguish *bucaros* from Portugal versus *bucaros* from the New World? And if so, where might the infanta's *bucaro* have been made?

In order to answer these questions, we will journey into a mental landscape that twenty-first-century archaeologists characterize as an emic pottery classification system.⁸¹ That is, what can we reconstruct of the ways in which *bucaros* were perceived (and savored) during the seventeenth century? Fortunately, the archive on early modern ideas about *bucaros*



9 *Búcaros* from Guadalajara in the collections of the Museo de América, Madrid (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Cultura)

is incredibly rich. Surviving ceramics, paintings, and a centuries-old specialist literature reveal a complex typology.⁸²

Gemelli Careri, you will recall, spoke of red and black *búcaros* from Guadalajara. The probate inventories of Don Fernando de Valenzuela and the Condesa de Oñate referenced an even wider variety of *búcaros*. Both owned *barros* from Guadalajara, Nata (near Panama), and Chile. Oñate's inventory lists these in particular detail: "de guadalajara," "de guadalajara negra," "de guadalajara colorados," "de chile," "de chile blancos," "de chile pintado de colores." Both owned *barros* from Portugal as well: "de Estremoz," "de Portugal."⁸³ These geographically sensitive probate entries make clear that it was both *possible* and culturally *significant* for seventeenth-century consumers to distinguish *búcaros* de Estremoz from *búcaros* de Guadalajara from *búcaros* de Chile.

But what was this differentiation based on? What distinguished *búcaros* or *barros* from Guadalajara from those from Nata, Chile, or Estremoz? We can approach this question by turning to Lorenzo Magalotti's eight *Lettere sopra i bucheri* (Letters about *búcaros*) of 1695.⁸⁴ Magalotti possessed an archaeologist's sensitivity to the description of *búcaros*—at one point he even points out the variation in paste color of a vessel's cross section. His letters compare the color, shape, and flavoring power of the *búcaros* of Portugal with those from three locations in the New World: Guadalajara, Nata, and Chile. (He even grades the flavoring powers of the New World *búcaros* on a numeric scale!) At a basic level, Magalotti distinguished Old and New World *búcaros* by their burnished surfaces: the *búcaros* of the Americas were far glossier than those produced in Portugal. Indeed, some European skeptics thought the New World vessels had to have been glazed. More specifically, the deep red *búcaros* of Chile made Portuguese equivalents look pale. Chilean *búcaros* were also made in black or in white with painted designs. Chilean vessels came in a number of shapes but never had plain surfaces: they were always painted or embellished with appliqué. The



10 Portuguese *búcaros*, ceramic, clockwise from left: 19th or 20th century, $7\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ in. (19.5×9.5 cm); 17th century, $3 \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in. ($7.5 \times 12 \times 6.5$ cm); 17th century, $3\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. ($8 \times 7 \times 3.5$ cm). Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon, inv. nos. Etno 3450, 922, 923 (artwork in the public domain; photographs by José Pessoa, provided by the Divisão de Documentação Fotográfica—Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, I.P.)

búcaros of Guadalajara were white with painted designs or had a *rosino* (rosy) or *rosso* (red) slip both inside and out. Although Magalotti asserts that the flavor of these Guadalajaran vessels was superior to those made in Chile, their color was not. The *búcaros* of Nata were black, and the most delicate of all.

Magalotti's claims about New versus Old World surface finishes—that *búcaros* from the Americas appeared to be glazed, in contrast to the dull surfaces of their Portuguese relatives—are corroborated by ceramics that survive today. The Museo de América in Madrid owns about a hundred *búcaros* donated in 1884 to the Museo Nacional de Arqueología (Fig. 9).⁸⁵ The donor was the Condesa de Oñate—the descendant of the *búcaro*-owning condesa whose probate inventories we looked at above.⁸⁶ Perhaps the memories of family history shaped the attributions given to these vessels when they were donated; many were said to be from Mexico ("Vaso megicano," "Tinaja megicana").⁸⁷ And, in accordance with what both Magalotti and Gemelli Careri said about Guadalajaran *búcaros*, many of the vessels donated by Oñate have a gleaming red surface (Fig. 9). They are otherwise unornamented: remember that red *búcaros* were also made in Chile, but according to Magalotti, these were always embellished with appliqué or painted designs. The shining red vessels in Madrid also differ from the three ceramics identified as Portuguese *búcaros* in Lisbon's Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (Fig. 10), as well as from the small cup discovered in Estremoz during excavations in the 1940s and now in the town's Museu Municipal Prof. Joaquim Vermelho (Fig. 11). As Magalotti would have predicted, the color of these Portuguese vessels is a dull terra-cotta, quite distinct from the deep reds of the vessels in Madrid. Only one of the Lisbon vessels is burnished, and it is dated to the nineteenth or twentieth century. The two dated to the seventeenth century are matte; the vessel from Estremoz has only a slight sheen.

Overall, these surfaces are strikingly less brilliant than the surfaces of the *búcaros* in Madrid.⁸⁸

The variety of colors and surface treatments revealed by these alphabetic and ceramic archives was translated into paint in seventeenth-century still lifes. As was mentioned above, Pereda's pair of 1652 canvases depict a variety of *búcaro* types (Figs. 4, 5). Their visual contrasts correspond to the detailed descriptions given in the letters of Magalotti. Perched on the inlaid ebony chest in the first painting are a black vessel bound in silver (a *búcaro* from Guadalajara or Nata), a burnished red vessel with dimpled surface (a *búcaro* from Guadalajara; compare with the small cup in Fig. 9), and another red vessel covered with bas-relief designs (a *búcaro* from Chile). Two more deep red, dimpled-surfaced *búcaros* appear in the painting's pendant (vessels from Guadalajara), and in the center of that composition is a lobed vessel bound in silver. Its dull terra-cotta color and minimally burnished surface correlate with what Magalotti and museum collections reveal about Portuguese *búcaros*. A painted contrast differentiating red dimpled-surface *búcaros* from black burnished vessels also appears, you will remember, in Recco's 1679 painting (Fig. 6). And these three works are hardly unusual. Many seventeenth-century Spanish still life paintings display several different styles of *búcaro* on the same canvas.⁸⁹ A genre scene by Pereda even depicts two *búcaros* with identical shapes but distinct surface finishes: one an unburnished terra-cotta (a Portuguese manufacture), the other a deep burnished red (from Guadalajara).⁹⁰ In other words, the variety of *búcaros* noted in seventeenth-century alphabetic sources and materialized in museum collections is matched by the variety of *búcaros* painted in seventeenth-century still lifes.

In sum, a complex emic pottery classification system for *búcaros* can indeed be reconstructed. A travelogue, probate inventories, a series of letters, surviving vessels, and still life paintings all revel in contrasts of color, surface finish, and place of origin. The *búcaro* of *Las meninas* is, of course, a painted representation; the kinds of clay source analyses that we could perform on ceramics in the Museo de América are not possible.⁹¹ But all of our evidence—alphabetic, ceramic, painted—argues that the infanta's deep red, shining *búcaro* was meant to look like a vessel from Guadalajara. To underscore this, compare the *búcaro* of *Las meninas* with the *búcaro* being served on a gilded silver tray to Doña Juana de Mendoza in her portrait of about 1585 by Alonso Sánchez Coello.⁹² Coello—especially because of his close relationship with Philip II—was an important role model for Velázquez, as Juan Miguel Serrera has shown.⁹³ I mentioned above that Velázquez frequently drew on the compositions of other artists to shape his own works. It is quite possible that Velázquez knew Doña Juana's portrait and made use of its *búcaro* imagery when composing *Las meninas*. Significantly, the *búcaro* shown in Coello's painting is terra-cotta brown, minimally burnished. Seventeenth-century evidence would attribute such a vessel to Portugal. All of our references to *búcaros* from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries speak only of Portuguese *búcaros*; the importation of New World vessels was a later-seventeenth-century development.⁹⁴ It is probably significant that in 1580, just before Coello painted this canvas, the Kingdom of Portugal had been in-



11 *Búcaro*, Portugal, 17th century, ceramic. Museu Municipal Prof. Joaquim Vermelho, Estremoz, Portugal (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

corporated into the kingdoms of Spain, and would be ruled from Madrid until 1640. If Velázquez quoted Coello's painting, then, he changed the color and surface finish—and thus geographic register—of its central ceramic.

The gleaming *búcaro* held up to Infanta Margarita is presented by Doña María Agustina Sarmiento on a footed silver tray. This tray—or, more specifically, its silver raw material—is the second thing of the Indies visible in *Las meninas*.⁹⁵ Bureaucratic records, political diatribes, and aesthetic expressions in poetry and metalwork all reveal that the Americas, and often the Cerro Rico ("Rich Hill") of the Andean mining town of Potosí, loomed large in seventeenth-century Iberian perceptions of silver.

The golden age, as it were, of European mining spanned the century from 1451 to 1540. During its peak years, from 1526 to 1535, European silver mines annually produced some 220,000 pounds of ore. However, the following decades brought a stark decline. The exhaustion of Europe's richest veins, and the comparative cheapness of silver from the New World, caused European silver production to drop below a third of its early-sixteenth-century levels.⁹⁶ In contrast, the silver lodes buried in the mountains of New Spain and Peru were exponentially richer than the veins of Europe. During the seventeenth century 85 percent of the world's total silver production took place in the New World. The average annual yield of New World silver during the period from 1651 to 1675 may have been as high as 980,000 pounds per year—more than four times as much silver as had been mined annually during the peak decade of European production.⁹⁷

In terms of sheer scale, then, millions of pounds of American silver had been flooding into Europe since the late sixteenth century. Much, or all, of the metal in actual trays that Doña María Agustina used as a lady-in-waiting probably traveled in ingots across the Atlantic.

Consciousness of the American origin of much Iberian—and even European—silver was not limited to bureaucrats tallying imports in Seville's Casa de Contratación. A number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century novels and political tracts rage against the effects of imported American ores. Already in the mid-sixteenth century, the claim that American silver was the cause of rising prices in Europe was proposed by Martín de Azpilcueta (1556), Francisco López de Gómara (1558), and Jean Bodin (1568). This argument was repeated in the seventeenth century by Martín González de Cellorigo (1600), Sancho de Moncada (1619), Pedro Fernández Navarrete (1626), and Diego Saavedra Fajardo (1640).⁹⁸ Yet by the second decade of the seventeenth century, new Iberian complaints focused not on the impact of Indies ores on Iberian prices but, rather, on the paradoxical *absence* of gold and silver in Iberia itself. The existence of New World mines made bankers (often with ties to Genoa) willing to loan increasingly large sums of money to the Spanish Crown. Much of this credit was used to fund imperial military endeavors outside Iberia. When shipments of American metals arrived, they often went directly to pay banking debts. In other words, precious metals flowed into Seville . . . but then flowed beyond Iberia to other parts of Europe.⁹⁹ Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, in his 1617 *El pasagero*, bitterly complained that for the Genoese, “the Indies” are Spain itself, “from whom they extract so many treasures.”¹⁰⁰ In the same year, the Royal Council of Castile lamented that when American silver reached Iberia, “it immediately goes to foreign kingdoms”: Castile “serves as a bridge over which the products of our mines pass to foreign hands, at times even to our worst enemies.”¹⁰¹ A year later, Luis Valle de la Cerda's *Desempeño del patrimonio* presented the Indies as the “ruin” of Spain's greatness. Valle de la Cerda's tract claimed that New World riches encouraged overspending, and thus debts. Because of Spain's lack of public banks, a great deal of the “gold and silver” of the New World went to pay Spain's foes.¹⁰² And in 1653, in the second part of his *El críticón*, Baltasar Gracián claimed, “If Spain would not have had the drain of Flanders, the blood-letting of Italy, the gullies of France, the leeches of Genoa, would not all of her cities today be paved with gold and incased in silver?”¹⁰³

This silver drain was seen in the coinage itself. In 1599, the Crown began to mint pure copper *vellón* coins in addition to coins of gold and silver. Due to repeated devaluations, by the 1620s copper coins had driven gold and silver monies out of circulation. Economic reports made this complaint in 1625, 1635, and 1642, and in 1644 the bookkeeper of León's Convento de Nuestra Señora de Sandoval reported, “Silver *reals* no longer circulate, and *reales de a ocho* [another silver coin] are a fiction of the imagination.” Two years earlier, on December 23, 1642, the Crown had issued a law aimed at alleviating the dearth of silver money. Among other things, it allowed owners of silver plate to mint their own dishes into coins. Apparently, very few took the Crown up on this offer—although, as we will see below, the Crown's bankruptcies in

1647 and 1653 might have placed palace silver, including trays such as the one depicted in *Las meninas*, at risk for numismatic liquefaction. But it was not only silver trays that were at risk in the seventeenth-century Indies of the Genoese. The economy of souls was at risk as well. In 1624 the Royal Council of Castile pointed out that a shortage of “silver money” in Iberia made it impossible for many people to buy papal indulgences. As a result, “the dead do not enjoy suffrage.”¹⁰⁴

Yet despite the physical scarcity of New World silver in mid-seventeenth-century Iberia, poetic texts attest to its conceptual ubiquitousness. No fewer than six of the poems in Francisco de Quevedo's 1648 *El Parnasso español* name the Andean mining town of Potosí and evoke its silver treasure.¹⁰⁵ Earlier in the century (and in the pessimistic vein of Suárez de Figueroa, the Royal Council of Castile, and Valle de la Cerda), Quevedo's 1611 “To a Mine” mocked the pursuit of New World metals. Intriguingly, although Quevedo did not indicate the specific location of this American mine, and although it is gold, and not silver, that is named in the text, a compilation of seventeenth-century poems (currently in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid) provides its own interpretative epigraph for “To a Mine.” The mine in question, claims the anonymous copyist, is Potosí. This gloss underscores the extent to which Potosí and its silver dominated seventeenth-century Iberian thoughts about the mining of precious ores.¹⁰⁶

In 1622, the Seville-bound *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* was caught in a hurricane and sank off the coast of Florida. When the remains of this ship were discovered in the mid-1980s, three pairs of *aquillos* (silver chalices) were dredged. Although their cylindrical form followed pre-Hispanic Andean models, a band of European-style images was hammered around the mouth of each cup. One of the images on each of these six vessels is the conical Cerro Rico of Potosí. Lines cross these embossed mountains, representing roads or veins of ore, and miners wearing brimmed European hats are shown at work.¹⁰⁷ Although these objects were lost in the Caribbean, other silver images of Potosí may have crossed the Atlantic successfully. Yet even without hammered images of an American mountain, silver objects in seventeenth-century Iberia would have been marked in the minds of their users as objects created from the riches of the New World. By the mid-seventeenth century, Iberian silver was anything but a banally precious metal. It was a socially charged, controversial, abundant yet scarce substance. And much of its social charge was tied to the rich American mines from which the bulk of the silver in Europe had been extracted.

For the third thing of the Indies in *Las meninas*, we look to the painted mirror. It reflects the images of King Philip IV and Queen Mariana of Austria. But it reflects something else as well: a deep red curtain hanging over their heads. The textile that this painted curtain references would have been dyed with American cochineal.¹⁰⁸

No room-specific inventory of the textiles in the Cuarto Bajo del Príncipe (in one of whose rooms *Las meninas* is set) exists for the seventeenth century. However, a pair of documents from 1658 and 1659 details the decoration of two other rooms in the Alcázar palace, and these allow us to textually approach the nature and composition of the mirror-

reflected curtain in *Las meninas*. Infante Don Fernando (the younger brother of Infanta Margarita) was born in 1658. Two palace rooms were redecorated as seasonal nurseries for him, named in the 1658 and 1659 inventories as the “quarto de Ybierno” (Winter Room) and the “quarto de berano” (Summer Room). The inventories itemize cribs, carpets, draperies, and *cortinas de puertas*: door curtains.¹⁰⁹ Two of these door curtains appear in Velázquez’s canvas: one reflected in the mirror, and another held back by the silhouetted José Nieto. Significantly, both documents pertaining to the nursery redecoration specify the fabrics of their *cortinas de puertas*. Those in the Winter Room were made of “grana.” Those in the Summer Room were made of “tafetán carmesí.” Both were deep red fabrics. *Tafetan*—taffeta—was a stiff, reflective silk cloth.¹¹⁰ *Carmesí*, as defined by Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco in his 1611 Castilian dictionary, is silk dyed with insect-derived cochineal.¹¹¹ This dictionary identification is corroborated by a 1620 report on cochineal production in New Spain, which describes cochineal dye as “la color carmesí.”¹¹² *Carmesí*, in other words, was a color that seventeenth-century viewers specifically attributed to cochineal. *Grana* is a similar fabric: a lightweight red-dyed wool that shared its name with one of the two Spanish terms for cochineal: *grana* and *cochinilla*.¹¹³

If styles of door curtain decoration were similar throughout the seventeenth-century Alcázar palace (inventories of 1701 through 1703 mention that the curtains in the Cuarto Bajo del Príncipe are made of “tafetán carmesí”), then the red door curtains reflected in *Las meninas* were most likely made from either *tafetán carmesí* or *grana*.¹¹⁴ The very names of both textiles signaled the entomological source of their pigment. *Carmesí* and *grana* were both culturally specific color categories; textile inventories from the Alcázar do not resort to the generalized word for “red” (*rojo*). *Carmesí* and *grana* were geographically evocative color categories as well: by the seventeenth century, the bulk of these parasitic pigments came from the New World.

Although medieval Europeans knew several sources of red dye (plant-based madder and insect-based kermes), by the late sixteenth century these Old World dyes had been eclipsed by the far more potent, far more stable, and far more brilliant cochineal—a dye created from insects extracted from nopal cacti in the Americas. In 1671 Jean Baptiste Colbert, the French minister of finance, complained that the shade of red derived from native European insects had gone out of fashion, superseded by the shade of red known in France as “Holland”—that is, the red derived from the New World cochineal that flowed into Madrid-ruled ports in the Netherlands. As a result, Colbert laments, the production of red dyes from European insects had all but been “abandoned [*delaissé*].”¹¹⁵ A century later, an anonymous Spanish pamphlet cited Colbert’s report, and the preeminence of New World cochineal, to explain the “terrible neglect [*fatal descuido*]” of kermes-based dye production in Spain.¹¹⁶ The decline and virtual disappearance of European insect dye production stands in stark contrast to the fortunes of American cochineal. Cochineal became second only to silver in transatlantic trade. During the last four decades of the sixteenth century, imports of cochineal registered in Seville’s Casa de Contratación averaged 183,000 pounds each

year—an annual tally that, shockingly, approached the output of European silver mining during its apogee in about 1530.¹¹⁷ Although changes in taxation early in the seventeenth century led cochineal imports to drop to an annual average of 50,000 pounds between 1608 and 1614, further tax revisions returned cochineal imports to sixteenth-century levels: some 176,000 pounds in 1620.¹¹⁸ Information on cochineal imports for the century between 1620 and 1720 is unfortunately sketchy, but by the middle of the eighteenth century cochineal imports to Iberia from the New World averaged a staggering 441,000 pounds per year.¹¹⁹

In other words, the mirror-reflected curtain of *Las meninas* is something more than “a standard feature of aristocratic portraits.”¹²⁰ The painted textile is meant to depict a door curtain made of *tafetán carmesí* or *grana*; the very names of both fabric types signal the entomological—and American—origin of their sumptuous color. Not incidentally, these are sensuous details about which Velázquez (as painter of this represented curtain) would have been acutely aware. In his role as *apostador del palacio* (palace chamberlain), he was professionally responsible for the upkeep of the Alcázar’s draperies. The same palace archives that preserve the inventories for Infante Don Fernando’s nurseries also house a 1652 order for palace curtains that Velázquez himself signed.¹²¹

Portraiture

Las meninas is obviously a work of royal portraiture. But it has long been realized that only three of the twelve figures depicted on the canvas—Infanta Margarita, King Philip IV, and Queen Mariana—are in fact royals. The others (including the sleeping dog) are servants of one kind or another. Indeed, this is one of the reasons that the canvas began to be called *Las meninas* (The Ladies-in-Waiting) in 1843. A number of investigators have explored the nature of this group portrait. In 1943, F. J. Sánchez Cantón published a book in which he compiled biographies for the majority of the assembled humans.¹²² In 1983, Norbert Elias emphasized that the composition brings together the different “households” (of the king, of the queen, of the princess) that coexisted within the Alcázar palace.¹²³ More recently, Marías has pointed out that early references to the canvas describe it as “El cuadro de la familia [The Painting of the Family]” (of Philip IV). Marías shows that in the seventeenth century, the concept of “family” was not limited to people connected by parentage and descent. Rather, *familia* was a category that included parents and children as well as servants and slaves.¹²⁴ All of the beings in *Las meninas*, Marías argues, are members of the *familia* headed by Philip IV.

Within early modern political theory, the *familia* of Philip IV had an even wider reach. It included all of the subjects of the king—and especially those in the New World. In 1972, Richard Graham claimed that the “Hapsburgs thought of themselves as patriarchs who occupied their position not because of the divine right of kings, but because of the divine right of fathers. . . . the Hapsburgs ruled over a family, not a state.” Subsequent scholarship has upheld Graham’s ideas about father-kings ruling over the New World.¹²⁵ Accordingly, from a focus on Spain and on the Spanish consumption of material things from Talavera, Moscow, Potosí, and Guadalajara, we now move to the New World, turning away



12 *Retrato de nopal*, ca. 1620, watercolor, $11\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (28.8 × 21 cm). Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos, Estampas 70 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Cultura)

from Madrid in order to conjure portraits of some of Philip IV's children-subjects living and laboring in the Americas.

My interest in assembling these portraits of labor is shaped by prior work in both consumption studies and historical anthropology. Research on consumption published during the past decade has frequently been criticized for its utopian naïveté. Consumption, severed from production, has been celebrated as a form of liberation, identity formation, even resistance. Consumption as “nice modernity” has been repeatedly disconnected from the “nasty modernity” often involved in producing things to be consumed.¹²⁶ Investigations of consumption are incomplete, critics have maintained, if they fail to consider the processes of production that brought consumer goods into being. Significantly, interest in the relations linking producers to consumers, and, in particular, the relations linking producers in the colonial world to consumers in Western metropolises, has been a recurring theme in one tradition of historical anthropology. Beginning in 1982 with Eric Wolf's *Europe and the People without History*, this research has demonstrated how European addictions to tropical commodities shaped the history of colonization, the history of colonized peoples, and even the history of the contemporary West.¹²⁷ The following portraits (of producers

making New World commodities in the Americas, of consumers using New World commodities in *Las meninas*) establish that the connections linking consumption and production are more than abstract economic systems. Rather, these are social relations that link consumers and producers to each other. In the seventeenth century, these social relations bridged vast transatlantic distances.

This final section also pursues a different strategy of visual analysis. Where previously I looked for parallels and agreements linking images to other kinds of sources (alphabetic, material), here I give special attention to how different kinds of sources—above all images and alphabetic texts—may be in conflict.¹²⁸

In about 1620, a New World artist painted an Amerindian man and woman working to extract cochineal from the leaves of a nopal cactus (Fig. 12). Much as Velázquez is shown lifting his brush to apply pigment in *Las meninas*, these two Amerindians are shown lifting pointed sticks to extract pigment (in the form of insect bodies). Their image was included on the fourth and final folio of a report written by Don Antonio de Figueroa (then governor of Yucatán, New Spain) and addressed to King Philip III.¹²⁹ The *relación* describes the steps Figueroa had already taken to introduce cochineal production to Yucatán from Tlaxcala in the north. As with my treatment of *Las meninas*, I read this image somewhat in reverse. If my focus on *Las meninas* uses a work of court portraiture to talk about nonhuman things, here I use a portrait of a thing to talk about the humans who, according to the image's alphabetic glosses, are secondary in importance. Figueroa ends his account of cochineal production by saying that he has appended a “Retrato,” a portrait, of the nopal cactus.¹³⁰ Figueroa does not mention that this “Retrato” will also depict a man and woman extracting precious parasites. Similarly, the label at the bottom of the image itself first mentions the “figura” of the nopal, and only secondarily refers to the “yndios” who are supposedly “enjoying [*gozando*]” the painstaking harvest.¹³¹ The painting itself is visually dominated by the nopal, which takes up the majority of the page and towers over the man and woman below it.

Here, then, kneeling on the ground (like Doña María Agustina as she offers the tray and *búcaro* to Infanta Margarita), are the first two people I want to bring within the circle of Philip IV's family. We must proceed with caution. This man and woman, this unnamed “Yndia” and “Yndio,” are not specifically referenced in the *relación* that they follow. We must therefore imaginatively animate their images to enact the many stages of labor that Figueroa outlines for the transplanting, raising, and harvesting of cochineal. We must imagine them, and their neighbors, as they plant the sun-dried leaves, build fences around each cactus to prevent it from being eaten by animals, weed the surrounding earth to remove the dwelling places of other insects and grubs, cut the young nopal fruits from the leaves so that they do not sap the strength of the plant, start a new colony of worms by transplanting dormant parasites from an already infested leaf, and then harvest, with gourd bowls in one hand and a pointed stick in the other, the dormant insects. And, finally, clean and desiccate their bodies for shipment first to Veracruz, then across the Atlantic to Seville. We could further individualize this painted man and woman if we imagine them as two of the

four Tlaxcalans who traveled south from central Mexico with Antonio de Naba (who was invited by Figueroa to teach the techniques of vermiculture to the Amerindians of Yucatán). Or perhaps the man, or the woman, is a Maya *juez* or *alcalde*, salaried positions recommended by Figueroa to locally oversee cochineal production in Yucatecan villages.

All of these imaginings might seem to be twenty-first-century affectations, acts of taking generic depictions of an *Yndio* and *Yndia* and putting them through the stereotyped stages of cochineal production. And yet if we look at this image attentively, it becomes clear that these are not simply bland European stereotypes of indigenous people. This painting is richly conceived, far more specific than rote derivations from the alphabetic text that precedes it.¹³² First, consider the clothing. The woman wears an indigenous blouse and has red ribbons delicately woven into her hair. The man sports a European felt hat, a blue tailored shirt, a pink sash at his waist, and pink breeches. And such breeches! Made of striped cloth, or perhaps of cloth with ribbon appliqué, their fabric is slashed with hundreds of cuts, following a style that was fashionable in Europe during the first half of the seventeenth century. Velázquez's portrait of court jester Juan de Austria, painted in 1635, shows Juan wearing similar shoes, black felt hat, pink doublet (slashed), and matching pink breeches (unslashed).

Or consider their actions. Where Figueroa's alphabetic text recommends collecting the extracted cochineal in gourd *xicaras*, in the painting the man and woman each use a different type of vessel (baskets? ceramic bowls?), as well as differently shaped harvesting tools. This gender dichotomy continues in perhaps the most subtle mark of differentiation: their poses. The man rests (or, rather, labors) on one knee; the woman rests (or, rather, labors) on both knees. Both techniques of kneeling were practiced by men and women interchangeably in seventeenth-century Europe. Both techniques of kneeling were also practiced by pre-Hispanic Maya men and women, as attested by Classic-period murals and carved stones and Post-classic-period manuscripts.¹³³ However, to the north, in central Mexico, men and women kneeled in different ways. There—as seen in both pre-Hispanic and colonial images—resting on both knees was a stereotypical form of female repose.¹³⁴ Given the role of central Mexicans brought from Tlaxcala to Yucatán in Figueroa's *relación*, this painted variation in gendered repose may be significant. It may indicate a central Mexican artist or central Mexican subjects. Perhaps we should read the man's method of kneeling as the adoption of a European form (to match his clothing), and the woman's method of kneeling as the maintenance of an Amerindian form (to match her clothing).

Clothing, containers, pose: though this man and woman might seem afterthoughts in an image labeled a "Retrato de nopal," the complexity of their depiction suggests that they are intentionally individualized. Their images are much closer to the portraits of Velázquez and Infanta Margarita in *Las meninas* than they first appear.

For a portrait of New World silver miners, we begin with engravings Velázquez himself owned. The 1660 library inventory of Diego and his wife Juana Pacheco includes:

539. Ritos de los Indios en la Isla Virginia.¹³⁵

540. América pars sexta.

541. América nona postrema.

542. América pars quarta.¹³⁵

(539. Rites of the Indians on the Island of Virginia. /

540. America, sixth part. / 541. America, ninth and last part. / 542. America, fourth part.)

Although it has not always been possible to interpret the titles listed in this inventory, these four volumes can be identified with certainty.¹³⁶ They are parts 1, 4, 6, and 9 of *Americae*, thirteen volumes of travel writing about the New World published from 1590 to 1634 by Theodor, Johan Israel, and Johan Theodor de Bry. Part 1 reprinted Thomas Hariot's 1588 *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. Parts 4 and 6 reprinted the first and third books of Girolamo Benzoni's 1565 *Historia del mondo nuovo*. Part 9 reprinted José de Acosta's 1590 *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Two of these volumes contained images of New World silver mining. On the frontispiece to part 6, a sinuous arc of bodies crosses the upper half of the page, heaving hoes against rock, shouldering baskets of ore from dark caverns up to the surface (Fig. 13).¹³⁷ On plate 3 of part 9, the dark cavern of a hollowed mountain reveals naked bodies wielding pickaxes against stone, shoveling ore into bundles of cloth, and bearing those bundles on their backs up a flexible ladder of twisted hide (Fig. 14).¹³⁸

Many of the engraved illustrations in *Americae* were based on images created by eyewitnesses (such as John White's sumptuous paintings of Virginia reproduced in part 1). But such was not the case with our two images of mining. Both drew not on extant pictures but on the descriptions of alphabetic accounts.¹³⁹ The upper register of part 6's frontispiece derives from Benzoni's brief account of gold and silver mining in the Andes:

They similarly found several [mines] among some mountains, and there they dig far underground, propping up the galleries with very large beams, until they have exhausted the vein of gold. But sometimes it happens that everything falls in, killing both the Spaniards and the slaves that were within. . . . At present the gold mines are nearly all exhausted; but the silver is still extracted in great quantities.¹⁴⁰

At least one wooden beam can be seen propping up a cavern on the right-hand side of de Bry's frontispiece (Fig. 13), but the other details of the image (the baskets for ore, the shovels and hoes) have been supplied by the illustrator. And although Benzoni mentions Spaniards working in the mines, no Europeans are distinguished in this frontispiece—in contrast to the image of Caribbean mining in part 5, where African laborers are shown directed by European overseers.

Acosta's more extensive alphabetic description provided the details for the engraving in part 9. Acosta began his book 4, chapter 8 ("Of the Method of Working the Mines of Potosí") by reflecting on the history of mining in the West, and on the repeated dangers to which colonized bodies had been subjected in the pursuit of ore's "precious danger."¹⁴¹



13 Theodor de Bry, frontispiece of *Americae pars sexta*, Frankfurt, 1596, engraving, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{8}$ in. (34.8 × 23.3 cm). The Newberry Library, Chicago, The Edward E. Ayer Collection, Ayer *110 B9 1590 vol. 6 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Newberry Library)

Pliny says that in Italy there are many metals, but the ancients did not consent to profit from them, in order to protect the people. They brought these metals from Spain, and made the Spaniards work the mines as tributaries. Spain now does the same with Indians, for though without doubt Spain still has a great wealth of metals, Spaniards are neither inclined nor allowed to look for them because of the troubles they cause; and [because] they take so many riches from the Indies, where the search and the extraction involves more than a little hardship. . . .¹⁴²

Acosta himself was exposed to some of this hardship when he visited a mine at Potosí: the toxic air of the underground caverns made him retch and gave him pains in his stomach.

It is from this firsthand observation that Acosta formed his account of mining techniques.¹⁴³ He described the dark caverns in which Amerindians hammered stone by candlelight, and the tied bundles of ore they carried to the surface on their backs. He explained how these miners navigated ladders of twisted cowhide—wide enough so one worker could ascend while another descended—by tying candles to their thumbs for light and resting on wooden platforms placed where one ladder ended and another continued on. All of these features are recounted in the caption that accompanies plate 3, and although the workers in the engraving hold their candles in their hands and work the stone with picks and shovels (and not the simple *barretas*, or crowbars,

III.
INDI, QVA ARTE AVRVM EX
MONTIBVS ERVANT.



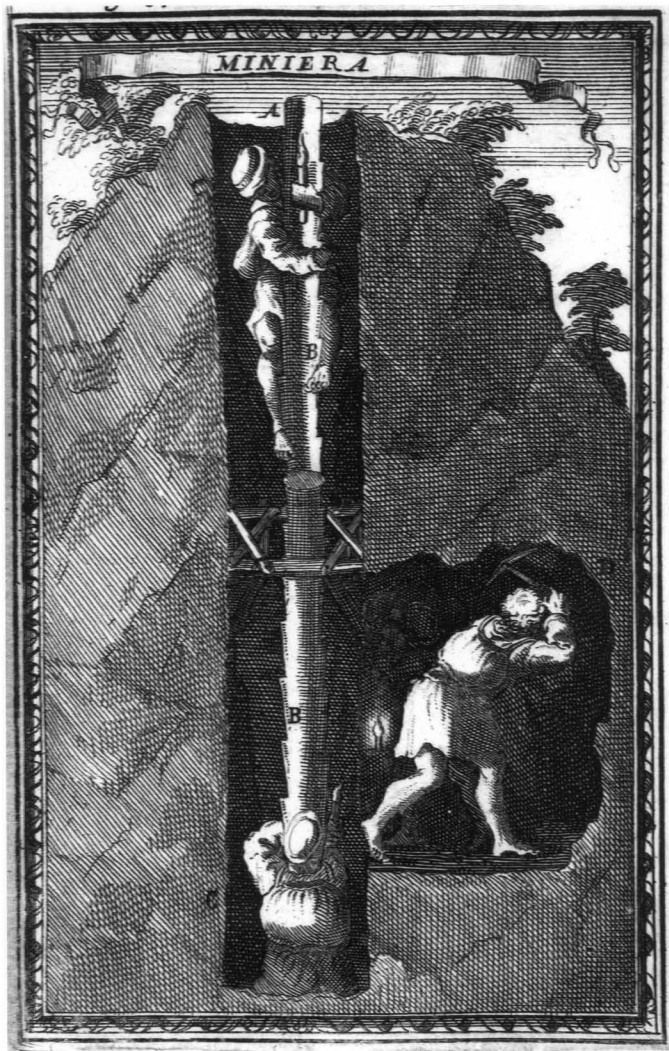
EX POTOSSI montanis, aurifodinis omnium ditissimis per omnem Indiā, aurum Indi hac arte effodiunt, qua in nostris fere regionibus itidem factitant. Nā ex rupibus excindenda omnia sunt. Operarios in duos ordines dispescunt. Quorum hi de die laborantes, noctu quiescunt: illi noctu operis vacantes, interdiu dormiunt. Quamuis nec diurnam nec nocturnam calis facem videāt, sed uniuersim succensis cereis opus habeant: Cum vltra 150. orgias infra terram sese demittant. Nec tamen ista tam immensa fodinarum profunditas impedit, quō minus omne effossum as suis dorsis foras efferre cogantur. Quem in usum scalas adhibent, ita structas paratasq., vt bina sibi semper cōiuncta hereant. Scala verò ex intortis boum coriis confecta sunt, qua transversis radiis ligneis suffirmantur ita, vt ternis viris semper ex ordine descensus vno latere, altero verò totidem ascensus sit. Cumq. in ascensus labore vtraq. manu scalas corripere cogantur, ideo, qui illorum primus est, cereum ardentem de pollice religatum gestat. Porro, quia meta ascensus nimis longa est, iccirco in media viaurrecta quadā scamna sunt, quibus onera sua quadamtenus deponere possunt.

14 De Bry, *Indi, qva arte avrum*, pl. 3 of *Americae nona postrima*, Frankfurt, 1602, engraving, 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (35.3 × 23.3 cm). The Newberry Library, Chicago, The Edward E. Ayer Collection, Ayer *110 B9 1590 vol. 9 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Newberry Library)

that Acosta specified), the image conveys the working conditions Acosta reported: darkness lit by candles, cloth bundles of ore, wide ladders of twisted cowhide, wooden platforms for rest.¹⁴⁴

And yet, as was also the case with the *Retrato de nopal*, de Bry's two mining images contain details that surpass the information given by their alphabetic sources. Although both engravings accompany texts that survey working conditions in the Andes, each differs in its depiction of native workers. In plate 3, all of the Amerindians are naked; in the part 6 frontispiece, a few wear skimpy loincloths. The heads of the workers in the frontispiece are fully shaved, but those in plate

3 wear tonsures. The workers in the frontispiece hammer stone with shovels and hoes and carry ore to the surface in baskets carried in the arms or on the head; those in plate 3 use shovels and picks and carry ore in cloth bundles. I mentioned above that, unlike some of the other engravings in *Americae*, these images are not directly modeled on illustrations from their source texts. Instead, they take their inspiration from prior volumes of *Americae*, using de Bry's previously published images of the Caribbean and Brazil to create fantastic Native American stereotypes. The spare loincloths worn in the frontispiece first appear on the bodies of the natives of Florida in part 2.¹⁴⁵ The tonsured hairstyles of the workers in



15 Giovanni Francisco Gemelli Careri, *Miniera*, p. 134 of *Giro del Mondo*, vol. 6, *Nuova Spagna*, Naples, 1699–1700, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (17.5 × 11 cm). The Newberry Library, Chicago, The Edward E. Ayer Collection, Ayer 124 I88 G2 1699 vol. 6 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Newberry Library)

plate 3 are taken from representations of the Brazilian Tupi-namba in part 3.¹⁴⁶ More generally, the very physicality of these bodies, and their twisted postures, are based on antique statuary and on the Mannerist aesthetics of the *figura serpentinata*.¹⁴⁷ Where details in the *Retrato de nopal*, by exceeding their alphabetic text, suggested a portraitlike attempt at capturing two specific people, these engravings epitomize the dissolution of specificity into a hybrid fantasy of generic Indianness.

In order to seek a more portraitlike depiction of New World miners, then, we must leave the library of Diego and Juana and return to a travel account we have already discussed: Gemelli Careri's *Giro del mondo*. There, in volume 6 of the 1699–1700 edition, the author illustrates the silver mines of Pachuca, to the north of Mexico City (Fig. 15).¹⁴⁸

As with plate 3 of *Americae*, part 9, this page is filled by the pyramidal cone of a mountain. But where the de Bry engraving sprawls across a folio expanse, Gemelli Careri's engraving is intimately displayed on an octavo page. At the top of the

illustration, below a rippling banner entitled "MINIERA," the letter A indicates the "mouth of the mine." A notched log juts out of this entrance; this is a "pole by which one descends with great danger." Indeed, between the letters A and B, a man clings to the log, descending or ascending, his face partially shaded by his brimmed hat, his right arm curled around the pole for support even as it grasps a candle for light, his bare toes splayed for traction against the notches. Farther down the shaft a cavity has been opened up, and in it works another barefoot man, hatless but wearing the same baggy shirt as his companion. His arms are raised, ready to heave a pick against the rock wall. And he is not alone in his labor. Working behind him is a third figure, whose faint silhouette emerges from the denser cross-hatchings of the surrounding darkness. The orientation of his feet indicates that the third man faces away from the viewer, hammering the cavern deeper into the page. A fourth man, backpack swollen with ore, is half visible as he climbs into the engraving from the shaft that sinks below its frame.¹⁴⁹ In a series of linked vignettes, this image provides an overview of the several different processes involved in bearing ore out from the earth.

Gemelli Careri visited these mines toward the end of his five-year circumnavigation of the globe. While in New Spain he, like Acosta, experienced the perils of mines, and like Acosta he furnishes a lengthy description of their working conditions.¹⁵⁰ What is compelling about Gemelli Careri's image of Pachucan miners is how different it is from de Bry's illustrations of Andean mining, and how similar its figures are to the depiction of the man in the *Retrato de nopal*. Without Gemelli Careri's explanatory text, it would not be clear that these shirted, brim-hatted miners were Native Americans. The same can be said for the image of the slashed-breeched, brim-hatted man in the *Retrato de nopal*.¹⁵¹ By *not* exoticizing these Amerindian laborers, Gemelli Careri offered us a much more convincing representation of silver miners than seen in de Bry's primitivist fantasies. And although the specificity of these Pachucan miners is less portraitlike than the man and woman in the *Retrato de nopal*, they allow us to approach, at least, the forgotten men in the American Indies who made silver available for the Indies of the Genoese. I would invite you, then, to bring hazy portraits of four Pachucan miners into the main room of the Cuarto Bajo del Príncipe.

For our third portrait, a portrait behind the *búcaro*, we travel three hundred miles west of Pachuca to the city of Guadalajara. Or, rather, to both Guadalajara and Tonalá, the latter being the small town ten miles southeast of Guadalajara where the *búcaros* "of Guadalajara" were actually made.¹⁵² Unfortunately, seventeenth-century archival portraits of the potters of Tonalá are elusive. Not until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries do the ceramic-making residents of Tonalá and its barrios leave extensive archival traces. In a fascinating group of legal petitions from the turn of the nineteenth century, ceramic production is repeatedly evoked for its political force. Thus, in 1794, when the *Yndios* of the barrio of Nuestra Señora del Rosario petitioned to be recognized as an independent town, they highlighted the economic importance of their ceramic production, as well as the fact that clay mines were located within community lands.¹⁵³ In 1805, when the *Yndios* of Tonalá complained that their

ability to pay Crown taxes had been compromised by the sequestering of once common lands by a local hacienda, they stressed that these lands held both the clay mines they excavated to make their ceramics as well as the woods from which they gathered fuel to fire their kilns.¹⁵⁴ In 1808, when cartographer Juan Francisco Ramírez was “instructed by the *Yndios* of the Pueblo of Tonal” to draft a map for them, his instructions included the insertion, amid the outlines of territorial boundaries, of a dozen tiny circles labeled “clay mines [*minas de barro*].”¹⁵⁵ If such politically charged references to indigenous ceramic production were made in the seventeenth century, their records remain undiscovered.¹⁵⁶

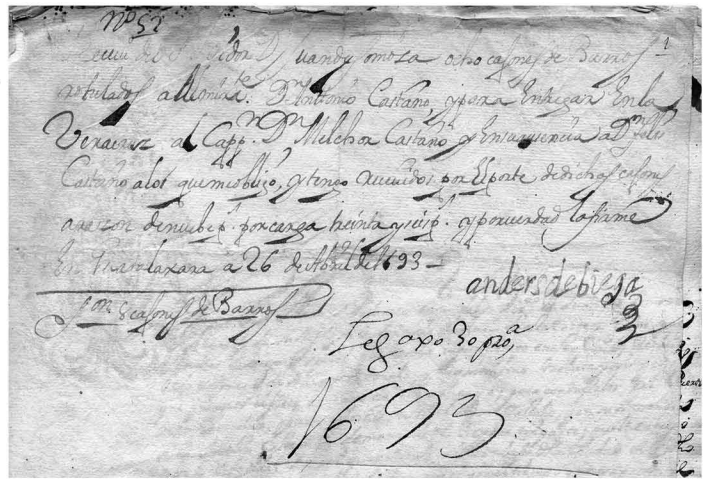
Nonetheless, the chain of labor behind any New World good that arrived in Europe was complex, involving a number of acts of both production and transportation. For our final portrait, we look not to the creators of the “*búcaros de Guadalajara*” but to a man who was in charge of transporting Tonalá ceramics (once they had reached Guadalajara) to Veracruz for shipment across the Atlantic. A series of intriguing events unfolded in Guadalajara between late April and late August of 1693—at the same time that, on the other side of the world, our friend Gemelli Careri left Naples (on June 13) and made it almost as far as Jerusalem (on August 27).

On April 26, 1693, Guadalajara licentiate Don Juan de Somoza drew up a contract with the “*español*” Andres de Brega (Fig. 16).¹⁵⁷ Brega was to transport eight crates of ceramics (variously referred to as “*barros de tonala*” [earthenware from Tonalá], “*losa de tonala*” [ceramics from Tonalá], and “*losa de tonala mitad dorada y platiada*” [ceramics from Tonalá, half of them gilded and silvered]) from Guadalajara to the port of Veracruz. There, he was to leave them in the care of Captain Don Melchor Castaño (or, in his absence, Don Felix Castaño) for shipment to Seville. In return, Brega was paid nine pesos for delivery and thirty-six pesos for transport.¹⁵⁸ Brega signed this contract and went on his way.

But he did not arrive in Veracruz. On July 10, 1693, Captain Castaño wrote a letter to Don Somoza, informing the Guadalajara that the promised crates of “*barros de tonala*” had not arrived. Inquiries were made. Brega was last seen *selling his train of mules* in the town of Tepeje, thirty-seven miles northwest of Mexico City. The fate of the eight chests of ceramics went unsolved, though Brega probably sold those as well (half, said later witnesses, were gilded and silvered—as were, you will remember, a number of the Guadalajara *búcaros* in the Condesa de Oñate’s 1684–85 inventory). Swindled, and upset, Somoza filed a criminal complaint against Brega on August 27, 1693. He sought restitution from Brega for the forty-five pesos in transport and delivery costs, for the value of the ceramics, and for the cost of legal fees. On the same August day, Somoza marshaled a series of nine witnesses to testify on his behalf. It is from these depositions that our final portrait emerges.

Or, rather, portraits. Two different likenesses of Brega are preserved in these depositions, both conveyed by letters. The first takes the form of an alphabetic description of Brega’s physical features, a sort of narrative “Wanted” poster. The second (a self-portrait) takes the form of Brega’s signature—or, rather, signatures, as four different versions are discussed.

Six of Somoza’s witnesses (Licentiate Don Antonio Vidal



16 Receipt for Don Juan de Somoza signed by Andres de Brega, April 26, 1693. Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco, Guadalajara, Bienes de Difuntos, Caja 217, Expediente 35

Joseph Abarca, Notary Don Pedro Agundiz y Zamora, Notary Juan de Gusman y Padilla, Notary Don Diego Francisco de Ortega, Professor Bernabe Lopez de Oliua, and Notary Ignacio de Tapia Palacios) were called on to analyze the traces Brega left by four of his signatures, including the transport contract drawn up by Somoza back in April. However, the spelling of the signature on that contract (preserved in the surviving criminal record) names not “Andres de Brega” but “anders de biega.” In order to leave no doubt that the “Andres de Brega” being accused was indeed the man who signed his name “anders de biega” on the receipt, Somoza called on the expertise of these six bureaucrats. They were asked to compare the “hand” of the receipt’s signature with the “hand” of three other signatures by Brega from an earlier criminal investigation.

What is fascinating about the testimonies that comment on the four signatures of Andres de Brega is that all six look beyond mere spelling, beyond the unity of a singular name, and search instead for coherence of identity in the created forms of the very letters. Pedro Agundiz y Zamora and Juan de Gusman y Padilla stressed that the “formation of the letter” in all the signatures is the same.¹⁵⁹ Diego Francisco de Ortega observed that “the form of the letters in the said signatures seems the same,” and that despite the “anteposition and postposition” of letters, the spellings of “vrega, brega, and biega” are all equivalent variations.¹⁶⁰ Bernabe Lopez de Oliua characterized the signatures with tailoring metaphors, testifying that “the form and cut” of the three signatures “match” that of the contract. Bernabe suggested that the variation and postposition in spelling probably indicated that the signer did not have much time to write.¹⁶¹

The sophisticated connoisseurship of signatures evidenced in these handwriting analyses should not be surprising. Flexibility and play were characteristic features of early modern spelling; both Anne Ferry and Jeffrey Masten have proposed that spelling variations (“misspellings”) were consciously chosen and varied by skilled writers for poetic and symbolic effects. Against this general background, seventeenth-century Europe saw the emergence of several techniques of handwriting analysis. Carlo Ginzburg has outlined the development of

new paleographic techniques in the Italian peninsula in the years surrounding 1620.¹⁶² Although these Italic practices of handwriting analysis were precocious, they were part of broader intellectual trends. In 1681 Jean Mabillon published *De re diplomatica*, usually heralded as the founding text on Western paleography. Mabillon's interest in the details of handwriting is made clear in his work's subtitle: *De re diplomatica* is about "whatever pertains to ancient instruments, their age, material, writing and style." The analytic techniques of our Guadalaran witnesses, identifying a unity of person behind a variety of signatures, can be seen in terms of both centuries-old bureaucratic skills as well as new seventeenth-century developments in the analysis of handwriting.

The three remaining witnesses were called on to give a more conventional portrait of the missing Andres de Brega: a physical description. Somoza had provided his own description of Brega in his opening deposition: "a man very small of frame, curly red hair, bright blue eyes, and gaunt of body."¹⁶³ The testimonies of "español" Juan de Torosa, free "mulata" Juana de Mesa, and free "mulata" Ana Bensar all corroborated Somoza's portrait. Juan de Torosa specifies Andres as "a man small of frame, with thinning somewhat short and curly hair, blue eyes, thin of face, and beardless."¹⁶⁴ Juana de Mesa (who adds that Brega lived beneath the arcades of the plaza) describes Andres as "small of frame, thin of face, short curly red hair, blue eyed."¹⁶⁵ And Ana Bensar describes him as "small of frame, thin of face, hair curly and red, blue eyes."¹⁶⁶ The history of the "Wanted" poster is yet to be written, but these textual portraits of the vanished Brega can probably be contextualized, on the one hand, in reference to a centuries-old European tradition of creating representations of condemned criminals (as with the effigies of the dead or disappeared in inquisitorial *autos de fe*),¹⁶⁷ and, on the other, to what José Antonio Maravall argues is a seventeenth-century artistic development. Whereas previously "the portrait . . . was only of principal and heroic figures," in the seventeenth century "the repertory of persons was wide-ranging, a crowded and moving world of superiors and inferiors that swarmed before the spectator, even changing their relative position—perhaps placing those from the lower levels in the foreground as the protagonist, as in *Las hilanderas*" (Velázquez's *The Weavers*).¹⁶⁸

The third portrait to be added to *Las meninas*, then, is of the red-haired, blue-eyed, *búcaro*-stealing Andres de Brega. He would probably stand in the foreground, in the lower right corner of the canvas, where his small frame would not seem out of place next to the diminutive Mari Bárbola and Nicolas Pertusato. This would also keep him out of snatching distance from the infanta's *búcaro*. We can even imagine Brega holding a brimmed hat, fidgeting with hands unused to holding a quill—hands that struggled with a feather whenever he was asked to sign his name.

There is one final portrait that I wish to address, one final act of labor to consider: the self-portrait and the labor of Velázquez himself. An oft-remarked tendency in the viewing of *Las meninas* is to see the work as a photographic snapshot—a random moment of palace life interrupted in all its details.¹⁶⁹ But this image was not produced in an instant: it was brushed in inch by inch. The labor of Velázquez enables us to see, now, the cup, tray, and curtain that lie at the center

of my reading. These things were not included in the painting simply because they happened to be furnishings (however common) in a moment that took place in the Alcázar one sunny day. These things are in the painting because Velázquez consciously put them in his composition. And although the general presence of things from the Indies in seventeenth-century interiors might partially explain the inclusion of these objects in this scene, random presence does not explain why all three are clustered together at the center of the canvas. Or why they are all aligned, one above the other, along the painting's central axis. The detail of the center (Fig. 3) makes this compositional feature clear. In order to focus on the images of King Philip IV, Queen Mariana, and Infanta Margarita, the viewer must also focus on the cup, tray, and curtain.¹⁷⁰ If the depiction of these things of the Indies cannot be explained by snapshot chance and must be considered as the conscious product of the labor of Velázquez, and if seventeenth-century audiences would have been familiar with the things of the Indies on the canvas, then in what ways might these far-traveled commodities have saturated both the production and the reception of the painting as a whole? Much of what I will discuss in these final paragraphs has been discussed before, above all in essays by Jonathan Brown and Geoffrey Waite. "The objective," then, "is to think about what we already know," refracted through New World commodities.¹⁷¹

I consider two implications: one for the royal audience of the painting, and one for Velázquez himself, as its maker.¹⁷² The mid-1650s were a difficult time for the Madrid court, a period of genealogical and financial duress, and both of these concerns are brought together in the sensuous moment at the center of *Las meninas*: Infanta Margarita reaching for a cup of flavored water. At the time the canvas was painted, Infanta Margarita was the only child born to Philip IV and Mariana of Austria after seven years of marriage. Philip IV's only male dynastic heir—Baltasar Carlos, the son from Philip's first marriage—had died ten years before, in 1646. And it is in one of his rooms that *Las meninas* is staged: Baltasar Carlos was the *príncipe* whose Cuarto Bajo Velázquez's canvas depicts. *Las meninas* therefore centers on a royal heiress in a room that had already seen the hopes of dynastic succession shattered.¹⁷³

Pressures of inheritance were not the only ones weighing down this image. As discussed above, the seventeenth century saw constant financial hardship for Spain. Royal bankruptcies were declared in 1647 and 1653. A series of letters written between 1654 and 1658 by Jerónimo de Barrionuevo presents a bleak picture of royal finances in the years when *Las meninas* was created.¹⁷⁴ In September 1655 Barrionuevo reported that although Philip IV needed 27 million ducats in annual income, only 6 million actually reached his hands, and that "there have been many days the households of the King and Queen lack everything, including bread."¹⁷⁵ Nine days later, Barrionuevo declared that there was nothing to eat in the palace, and a private individual had to "help with this difficulty."¹⁷⁶ Not only food but also firewood was in short supply. Barrionuevo wrote that in January 1655 a royal hunting party arrived at the El Pardo palace to find that it was not stocked with firewood,¹⁷⁷ a situation that Velázquez (as palace chamberlain) personally experienced. In November 1659, when

several tons of firewood that he had ordered were delivered, Velázquez was unable to pay for them—because, as he noted in a memo, “there is not a single *real* to pay for wood for the chimneys of His Majesty’s quarters.”¹⁷⁸ Indeed, when Velázquez died in 1660, the Crown owed him salary payments dating back seventeen years—and his was not the only neglected palace salary. Porters and confit makers alike refused to work in the late 1650s because they had not been paid.¹⁷⁹ Not even Infanta Margarita, so poised in her depiction in *Las meninas*, managed to escape this palatial poverty. Barrionuevo observed that in October 1656 (the same year in which *Las meninas* was completed) the infanta was moved to a tantrum over palace shortages. Her fragrant moment in *Las meninas* stands in contrast to this reeking meal:

For two and a half months the palace has not had its usual rations, for the king doesn’t have a dime, and on the day of San Francisco they served to the Infanta a capon which she ordered taken away because it stank like dead dogs. This was followed by a chicken as she liked it, served on thin slices of bread prepared like *torrijas*, but covered with flies, and she became so angry so that she nearly threw it all to the floor.¹⁸⁰

Thus, *Las meninas* asserts a courtly lifestyle rich with the wealth of the Indies at a period when, in fact, the royal heiress was just as likely to smell a putrid capon at dinner as savor fragrant water from a *búcaro de Guadalajara*. *Las meninas* displays the sumptuous products of New World laborers at a time when laborers within the Alcázar palace itself were refusing to do their duties for free.

For its courtly audience, then, *Las meninas* was an image centered on a royal princess—but set in a room that had already seen the hopes of dynastic succession die. It was a statement of imperial affluence—but set in a palace short on food and firewood. Theodore Rabb has suggested that the vast canvases of seventeenth-century court painting can be understood as frantic assertions of grandeur and power by elites ruling an unstable political landscape drenched in decades of warfare. Perhaps the messages that *Las meninas* conveyed to its courtly audience—dynastic stability and imperial wealth—should be read as similar hubris.¹⁸¹

While the representation of American objects would have resonated—if poignantly—for courtly viewers of *Las meninas*, the evocation of the Americas would have been equally meaningful, at this point in time, for Velázquez himself. All of the products of the Indies in this image undoubtedly spent part of their social life in Seville, the southern port through which American imports officially entered Spain. Velázquez had been born in Seville in 1599, and his Sevillian origins were haunting him the same decade he painted *Las meninas*. Velázquez would have seen the cup, tray, and curtain as hieroglyphs (to use a seventeenth-century painterly term) of his Sevillian past, pointing to the limits on achievement that such a past might place on his career in an imperial court.

Throughout the 1650s, at the time he was composing and painting *Las meninas*, Velázquez was seeking membership as a knight in the Order of Santiago. Unfortunately, one of the order’s membership rules (and Diego and Juana’s aforementioned library contained a copy of these) specified the exclu-

sion of “those who themselves or whose parents or grandparents, have practiced any of the manual or base occupations. . . . By manual or base occupation is meant silversmith or painter, if he paints for a living. . . .” Not intending to let these rules stand in his way, Velázquez began actively pursuing membership during his stay in Rome in 1650, when he petitioned for and received a letter of support from the papacy.¹⁸² His official nomination would not take place until 1658; it was followed by prolonged investigation into Velázquez’s background. Depositions were taken from 148 witnesses: in Madrid, in towns near the Spanish-Portuguese border where Velázquez’s ancestors had lived, and, crucially, in Seville. Testimonies from Seville dominate the proceedings: one-third of the depositions were taken there, more than from any other location (and twice as many as were taken from Madrid).¹⁸³

Las meninas has often been interpreted as a personal statement by Velázquez of the nobility of art—and thus of his own nobility as a painter—at a time when he was seeking membership in the Order of Santiago. The artist probably knew the importance that Sevillian testimonies would have for his application (concerning questions about both his occupation as a painter and his genealogical background). This awareness may account for the striking formal, compositional, and thematic references that *Las meninas* makes to the Sevillian canvases Velázquez painted before coming to Madrid. Formally, the strong contrasts of sunlight and shadow—so unlike the even tones of his court portraiture—evoke his *Adoration of the Magi*, *Three Men at Table*, and *Old Woman Cooking*, all executed before Velázquez moved to Madrid in 1623. Compositionally, the device of embedding a small but thematically central image in the back of the painting’s space—the mirror showing Philip IV and Mariana—parallels two other pre-1623 works, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* and *The Kitchen Maid with Christ at Emmaüs*. Thematically, references to Madrid’s transoceanic empire also appear in works completed in Seville. Red chili peppers—a New World domesticate—glisten in the kitchen scene foregrounds of *Old Woman Cooking* and *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*. Seville’s role as imperial port is more subtly evoked in the 1620 portrait of Abbess Jerónima de la Fuente. This canvas was painted just before de la Fuente set off for missionary work in the Philippines. Her journey, reversing the circuit of our friend Gemelli Careri, would have taken her across the Atlantic to Veracruz, overland to Mexico City and Acapulco, and then finally across the Pacific to Manila.¹⁸⁴ As I mentioned above, Velázquez was a highly sensitive appropriator of the style and devices of other artists throughout his career. These striking self-references to his Sevillian canvases in a massive court painting from 1656 suggest an attempt not simply to ennoble his status as a painter but to ennoble his Sevillian past.

Indeed, a reading of this courtly canvas through the lens of autobiographical insecurity is supported by one fascinating trace of the labor of its production. Velázquez’s painting technique combined preparatory drawings with direct work on the surface of his canvases, moving back and forth from drawing, to painting, to new drawing, to painting. This direct approach can be seen in the many overpainted revisions that time has made visible in his works, as well as in the frequency with which he had to sew additional cloth onto his canvases,

in order to accommodate dynamically generated compositions.¹⁸⁵ Surprisingly, despite the vast scale of *Las meninas*, X-radiography has revealed few adjustments to the composition. The one area of the canvas that was altered and constantly reworked was Velázquez's self-portrait. It appears as a cloudy haze in the radiographs, in contrast to otherwise sure lines of execution. In his depiction of himself, Velázquez was least confident in how he should proceed—indicating just how intimately Velázquez was invested in this canvas, and his placement within it.¹⁸⁶

"Luminous and Visible Tribute"

Diego Velázquez and four miners from Pachuca, Infanta Margarita and an *Yndia* from Yucatán, Nicolas Pertusato and Andres de Brega: having gathered this expanded family of characters in the main room of the Cuarto Bajo del Príncipe, I want to return to an issue raised earlier: How should we map the legitimate boundaries of a Spanish American "realm of colonial studies"?

Consider again the paperback cover to *The Buried Mirror* (Fig. 1). Here we can see how the borders of this realm are usually drawn. The images of Columbus and the Maya of Bonampak depict, respectively, the arrival of Europeans on the shores of the Americas and the pre-Hispanic history of the Western Hemisphere. Theodor de Bry's 1596 map of that same hemisphere arcs around these two details. The paperback cover, then, is centered on a New World story, on what happened in the Western Hemisphere both before and after the arrival of Europeans. The cover's designer, Christopher Moisan, has visually captured how the realm of colonial studies is normally mapped: the impact of Europeans and European institutions on indigenous civilizations with ancient, and enduring, roots.¹⁸⁷ But this is not the only story told in *The Buried Mirror*. Fuentes writes of a vibrantly transatlantic world; his chapters are concerned as much with the circum-Mediterranean as with the western shores of the Atlantic. "A mirror: looking from the Americas to the Mediterranean, and back. This is the very sense and rhythm of this book."¹⁸⁸

The disappearance of the eastern shores of the Atlantic from this paperback cover is more than a trivial detail: it points to broader assumptions. "We are little accustomed," writes Serge Gruzinski, "to deal with the native American past and sixteenth-century Europe in the same way, and even less inclined to look to the indigenous world for keys to a better understanding of the Renaissance."¹⁸⁹ It is not uncommon for studies of colonial Spanish American visual culture to consider the massive impact of European forms in the new colonies. A more elusive task—as Claire Farago lamented a decade ago—is gauging the impact of the New World on visual and material culture produced north of the Mediterranean.¹⁹⁰ Studies of economics and consumption have provided the most powerful examples of how the material civilization of Europe was reshaped by the colonial New World. The role of New World slavery and sugar production as the foundation for building European industrial capitalism has been demonstrated again and again, in arguments by Karl Marx, Eric Williams, and Sidney Mintz.¹⁹¹ In contrast, studies within art history have produced not accounts of the reshaping of European material history but, rather, vignettes of the

"odds and ends of native ornament, torn from context and repeated as 'empty' decorative themes."¹⁹²

Almost all visual explorations of the impact of the Americas in the Old World have focused on European collections or representations of Amerindian things. A number of studies have followed the transatlantic travels of specific artifacts (painted Mesoamerican manuscripts, obsidian mirrors),¹⁹³ or have analyzed whole collections of Americana (Medici *meraviglias* now in Florence and Rome, Hapsburg *Wunders* now in Vienna).¹⁹⁴ Closely related to such studies are those that zero in on images of Americana in Old World visual culture (a Tupinamba war club drawn in the margins of a 1515 Book of Hours, central Mexican gods engraved on the frontispiece to Antonio de Herrera's 1601–15 *Historia general*).¹⁹⁵

These studies of circulation and representation are important, and have influenced my own work. My discussion of the *búcaro* in *Las meninas* descends from this lineage. That is, I chose an object in a painting, and then compared the formal features of its depiction with three-dimensional New World objects housed in museums. When writing about cochineal-dyed curtains and the hammered silver tray, however, I tried to think about how studies of colonial Spanish American visual culture might look if they went beyond surface effects and atomistic circulation to seek more subtle signs of the New World's impact on economy and materiality north of the Mediterranean. Unlike the *búcaro*, the tray and curtain cannot be "shown" to be linked to the New World through comparison to three-dimensional objects. Instead, their interpretation must consult the geography of commodity production and consider the extent to which seventeenth-century Europeans thought about the geographic origins of the objects they owned.

As mentioned earlier, the first chapter of Foucault's *The Order of Things* contains a famous essay on *Las meninas*. On one level, that chapter analyzes the painting as an example of "Classical representation" (roughly, a mode of ordering studies of living things, language, and value in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—a topic Foucault explores later in the book).¹⁹⁶ On another level, though, that chapter presents Foucault's general approach to writing about the history of science. Foucault did not want to write a teleological history—that is, a triumphal story of the progress of knowledge culminating in the late twentieth century. Rather, he sought to unearth past orientations and viewpoints that did not look forward to the twentieth-century present but were directed to quite different goals. In particular, Foucault was interested in the background orientations that creatively, productively shaped past thought: "a *positive unconscious* of knowledge: a level that eludes the consciousness of the scientists and yet is part of scientific discourse."¹⁹⁷ Foucault's analysis of *Las meninas* is a visual demonstration of this conceptual approach, focused on subtle hints within the painting that point to the almost unseen factors structuring its composition.

The mirror hanging on the painting's back wall furnishes one of these hints. It reflects blurry portraits of the king and queen, two figures not directly depicted in the painting but whose unseen presence orients the bodies and gazes of the infanta and her entourage: "They provide the centre around

which the entire representation is ordered.”¹⁹⁸ The mirror provides viewers with a hazy image of two people located beyond the limits of the canvas’s ebony frame. At the same time, the mirror “restores visibility to that which resides outside all view.”¹⁹⁹ My own study of seemingly obscure details within *Las meninas* has attempted to restore visibility to men and women who cannot be directly seen within the painting itself. To commandeer one of Foucault’s phrases, the “luminous and visible tribute” manifested by the cup, tray, and curtain can be read as reflections of the value-producing labor of men and women in Madrid’s American colonies.²⁰⁰ Just as Foucault took *Las meninas* as a model for showing how barely visible traces can be used to unearth hidden structures of knowledge, I have tried to use details within the painting to unearth the unseen conditions of possibility that made this scene, and much of the splendor of the seventeenth-century Madrid court, possible: the labor and economic value extracted from New World possessions. These material details return us to the limits of twenty-first-century vision discussed earlier. The mirror in *Las meninas* allows us, now, to see indirectly what the figures gathered in the Cuarto Bajo del Príncipe look at directly: King Philip IV and Queen Mariana. Cup, tray, and curtain allow us, now, to see the indirect presence of New World labor in cochineal, silver, and clay.

J. H. Elliott has strongly framed the question of the “impact” of the New World on Europe in terms of its effect on European “consciousness” and “perception.” One method he repeatedly advocates for gauging this impact is to tally the titles of books published in Europe on the theme of the Americas and to compare that tally with, say, the tally of titles published on antiquity. Elliott offers a textual equivalent to the previously mentioned art historical studies of the circulation and collection of artifacts made in the Indies. He also stresses the difficulty Europeans had in incorporating the Americas into their “field of vision.” Europe “impose[d] its own image” on perceptions of the New World—down to the very level of the colors that artists used to represent what they saw. All of these arguments are important, and Elliott’s concern for visibility (as a historian, back in 1970) is commendable. But, of course, consciousness—understood as self-awareness—is neither the only nor the most important issue when dealing with the psyche and social life (as Sigmund Freud maintained a century ago, and as John and Jean Comaroff have more recently asserted in their delineation of ideology and hegemony).²⁰¹ Assuming that European *consciousness* and *perception* of American things is the best (or, indeed, the only) way of gauging the “uncertain impact” of the New World is problematic—as Dean and Leibsohn have pointed out in a different context. And so I will conclude by turning to the window of *Las meninas*.²⁰²

In addition to the mirror, Foucault writes about the large window on the painting’s right edge. Although almost invisible, this aperture is the only reason that the contents of the room can be seen: “This extreme, partial, scarcely indicated window frees a whole flow of daylight which serves as the common locus of the representation. . . . From the right, there streams through an invisible window the pure volume of a light that renders all representation visible.”²⁰³ None of the figures in *Las meninas* looks at the window directly; we can only assume its presence through the light that pours in on

the right. How, then, might we map those aspects of the realm of colonial studies that—although potentially of great importance—early modern Europeans did not look on, and that we now can infer only obliquely? What would be the visual and material equivalents to Foucault’s “*positive unconscious* of knowledge”—that is, deep and hidden structures (conceptual, economic) that made possible more conscious and more visible manifestations of visual and material culture, manifestations that might not, on the surface, seem to have anything at all to do with the New World? How might such windows illuminate the current spaces of disciplinary knowledge in which twenty-first-century academics are trained? Spaces of disciplinary knowledge where, for example, it is easy to write a history of early modern Europe without ever referencing the New World, and almost as easy to do the reverse;²⁰⁴ where history departments are routinely segmented into “Early Modern European History” versus “Latin American History”; where art history focused on early modern Europe need never look across the Atlantic; and where the realm of colonial Spanish America ends when the beaches of the New World disappear into the ocean.

Byron Ellsworth Hamann is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Anthropology and the Department of History at the University of Chicago. He is currently preparing his dissertation on sixteenth-century Valencia and Oaxaca: “Bad Christians, New Spains: Catholics, Muslims, and Native Americans in a Transatlantic World” [Department of Anthropology and Department of History, University of Chicago, 1126 East Fifty-ninth Street, Chicago, Ill. 60637, behamann@uchicago.edu].

Notes

Subconsciously, this project began in 1998, when Annabeth Headrick mentioned to me that Emily Umberger had been working on Velázquez. I was instantly intrigued: Would Umberger somehow bring her extensive knowledge of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica to bear on these European canvases?

My own work on the connections between Velázquez and the New World began, unexpectedly, in the Prado in 2002, with the help of funding from a Mellon Fellowship in Latin American History and a Tinker Travel Grant from the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Chicago. In the fall of 2004, Dana Leibsohn and Michael Schreffler invited me to participate in their Latin American Studies Association session “Vision and Visuality in Colonial Spanish America,” which offered me a forum—and a deadline—to put into writing a project that had been developing for several years. I thank Dana, Michael, Barbara Mundy, Carolyn Dean, and Cristina González for feedback and encouragement in Las Vegas. Subsequent writing and research during the winter and spring of 2004–5 benefited from discussions with Tom Guthrie and Kenny McGill. In February 2005 Jen Kimpton helped me to understand the details of Gemelli Careri’s itinerary in Egypt, and in April Mayra González Jaime graciously welcomed me to the Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos de Guadalajara. Tom Cummins, Leibsohn, and Matthew Hunter read and commented on drafts of the full essay in the summer of 2005; Matt pushed me to consider the labor of Velázquez—which I was able to pursue in Madrid during the fall of 2005 on a dissertation grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation. Revisions in 2008 were guided by comments from Scott Hutson, Renée Khatami, Christopher J. Moisan, Rick Powell, Geoff Waite, Peter Waite, Jaume Coll Conesa and María Paz Soler Ferrer of the Museo Nacional de Cerámica in Valencia, two anonymous reviewers, and by images, essays, books, and hardware generously provided to me across great distances by Dan Bridgman, Cammy Brothers, Juan Manuel Domínguez Chacón, Miriam Doutriaux, Jay Hamann, Nancy Hamann, Matt Hunter, Scott Hutson, Barbara Mundy, and Rebecca Zorach. Finally, I thank Ken Digby for his reflections on the stinking capon of Infanta Margarita in terms of cock ale and other seventeenth-century poultry recipes.

Unless otherwise noted, all references to archival documents are based on my own original research, and the translations are my own.

1. “Más confiado en la infinita misericordia, digo que a lo primero se podrá afirmar que no hay más que un mundo, y aunque llamamos

- Mundo Viejo y Mundo Nuevo, es por haberse descubierto aquél nuevamente para nosotros, y no porque sean dos, sino todo uno." Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, vol. 1, ed. Ángel Rosenblat (1609; Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1945), 12, trans. Harold V. Livermore as *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Peru*, vol. 1 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 9.
2. Geoffrey Waite, "Lenin in *Las Meninas*: An Essay in Historical-Materialist Vision," *History and Theory* 25, no. 3 (1986): 284.
 3. Designer Christopher J. Moisan, personal communication to author, March 31, 2008. Fuentes was not involved in the design. On the full Columbus scene, see Edward J. Sullivan, *The Language of Objects in the Art of the Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 4–5.
 4. Carlos Fuentes, *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), 11, 179–82; paperback ed. (Boston: Mariner Books, 1999).
 5. Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5–35.
 6. *Ibid.*, 7.
 7. These three styles of *Las meninas* interpretation were first outlined by Jonathan Brown, "On the Meaning of *Las Meninas*," in *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 87–110. Later discussions of the history of *Las meninas* interpretation were published in Alice Sedgwick Wohl, "Velázquez: *Las Meninas*," *News from RILA* [International Repertory of the Literature of Art] 5 (1987): 5–10; Fernando Marías, introduction to *Otras meninas* (Madrid: Ediciones Siruela, 1995), 13–26; and Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, "Velázquez's *Las Meninas*: An Interpretive Primer," in *Velázquez's Las Meninas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 124–49.
 8. Michel Foucault, "Les suivants," *Le Mercure de France* 1221–22 (1964): 368–84; *idem*, "Las Meninas," in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1966; New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 3–16.
 9. John R. Searle, "Las Meninas and the Paradoxes of Pictorial Representation," *Critical Inquiry* 6, no. 3 (1980): 477–88; Joel Snyder and Ted Cohen, "Reflexions on *Las Meninas*: Paradox Lost," *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 2 (1980): 429–47; Leo Steinberg, "Velázquez' *Las Meninas*," *October* 19 (1981): 45–54; Svetlana Alpers, "Interpretation without Representation, or, the Viewing of *Las Meninas*," *Representations* 1 (1983): 30–42; Denis Donoghue, "A Form of Attention," 75–100, and Charles Karelis, "The *Las Meninas* Literature and Its Lesson," 103–14, both in *Creation and Interpretation*, ed. Raphael Stern, Philip Rodman, and Joseph Cobitz (New York: Haven Publications, 1985); W. J. T. Mitchell, "Metapictures," in *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 35–86; and Amy M. Schmitter, "Picturing Power: Representation and *Las Meninas*," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 54 (1996): 255–68.
 10. Charles de Tolnay, "Velázquez's *Las Hilanderas* and *Las Meninas* (an Interpretation)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 35 (1949): 21–38; George Kubler, "Three Remarks on the *Meninas*," *Art Bulletin* 48, no. 2 (1966): 212–14; Madlyn Millner Kahr, "Velázquez and *Las Meninas*," *Art Bulletin* 57, no. 2 (1975): 225–46; Mary Crawford Volk, "On Velázquez and the Liberal Arts," *Art Bulletin* 60, no. 1 (1978): 69–86; Brown, "On the Meaning of *Las Meninas*"; and *idem*, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 251–64.
 11. J. A. Emmens, "Las Meninas de Velázquez: Espejo de príncipes para Felipe IV" (1961), in Marías, *Otras meninas*, 43–66; Joel Snyder, "Las Meninas and the Mirror of the Prince," *Critical Inquiry* 11, no. 4 (1985): 539–72; and Santiago Sebastián, "La lectura de 'Las Meninas': Un retrato emblemático y pedagógico," *Lecturas de Historia del Arte Ephialte* 1 (1989): 189–207.
 12. Victor I. Stoichita, "Imago Regis: Teoría del arte y retrato en *Las Meninas* de Velázquez," 181–204; Juan Miguel Serrera, "El palacio como taller y el taller como palacio: Una reflexión mas sobre *Las Meninas*," 231–46; Fernando Marías, "El género de *Las Meninas*: Los servicios de la familia," 247–78, all in Marías, *Otras Meninas*; *idem*, "Las Meninas de Velázquez, del despacho de Felipe IV al cenador de Carlos III," in *Velázquez y Calderón: Dos genios de Europa, IV Centenario, 1599–1600, 1999–2000* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2000), 157–77; Emily Umberger, "Velázquez and Naturalism," pt. 2, "Interpreting *Las Meninas*," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 28 (1995): 94–117; and George Bauer and Linda Bauer, "Portrait Practice in *Las Meninas*," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 19, no. 3 (2000): 37–42.
 13. For the first three sources, see Brown, "On the Meaning of *Las Meninas*," 89–90; Bo Vahlne, "Velázquez's *Las Meninas*: Remarks on the Staging of a Royal Portrait," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 51, no. 1 (1982): 21–28; Steven N. Orso, "A Lesson Learned: 'Las Meninas' and the State Portraits of Juan Carreño de Miranda," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 41, no. 2 (1982): 24–34; *idem*, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 165–82; John F. Moffitt, "Velázquez in the Alcázar Palace in 1656: The Meaning of the *Mise-en-scène* of *Las Meninas*," *Art History* 6, no. 3 (1983): 271–300; *idem*, "Anatomía de *Las Meninas*: Realidad, ciencia, y arquitectura," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 7, no. 21 (1986): 173–83; Frederic Chordá, "Computer Graphics for the Analysis of Perspective in Visual Art: *Las Meninas*, by Velázquez," *Leonardo* 24, no. 5 (1991): 563–67; Ángel del Campo y Francés, "La invención de 'Las Meninas,'" in *Velázquez y el arte de su tiempo* (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 1991), 151–60; and *idem*, "Especularia geométrica en 'Las Meninas,'" in *Reflexiones sobre Velázquez* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1992), 131–50. An artistic reconstruction of the painting's room is the basis of Eve Sussman's video *89 Seconds at Alcazar*, which premiered at the 2004 Whitney Biennial. I thank Sareeta Amrute for bringing my attention to this work.
 14. See n. 7 above.
 15. J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469–1716* (London: Edward Arnold, 1963), 381. Alpers, "Interpretation without Representation," 40, critiques Elliott's idea that "Velázquez paints the bankruptcy" of the Spanish court in *Las meninas*; Waite, "Lenin in *Las Meninas*," 264, embraces Elliott's economic conclusion.
 16. Juan Downey (Valencia: IVAM Centro del Carme, 1975), 236–41; see George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 109–14.
 17. Many thanks to Peter Waite and Geoffrey Waite for answering questions I had about painting-essay relations after first reading "Lenin in *Las Meninas*" in May 2008; Peter Waite, personal communication to author, May 2, 2008, and May 4, 2008; and Geoffrey Waite, personal communication to author, May 2, 2008.
 18. María Concepción García Sáiz and María Ángeles Albert, "La cerámica de Tonalá en las colecciones Europeas," in *Tonalá: Sol de barro*, ed. Sofía Urutia and Julia de la Fuente (Mexico: Banco Cremi, 1991), 59; Mitchell A. Coddig, "The Decorative Arts in Latin America 1492–1820," in *Tesoros: The Arts in Latin America 1492–1820*, ed. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 102; and Natacha Seseña, "El búcaro de *Las Meninas*," in *Velázquez y el arte de su tiempo* (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 1991), 38–49.
 19. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (1985): 243.
 20. Yet she invokes these "archives" twice, *ibid.*, 254, 259.
 21. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 66.
 22. *Ibid.*, 33–35, 80–97. On the impact of Said's *Mansfield Park* analysis, see Susan Fraiman, "Jane Austen and Edward Said: Gender, Culture, and Imperialism," *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 4 (1995): 805–21; and John Wiltshire, "Decolonising *Mansfield Park*," *Essays in Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2003): 303–22.
 23. On canon debates, see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "The Claims of a Common Culture: Gender, Race, Class, Canon," *Salamagundi* 72 (1986): 131–43; Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon: Books and the School of Ages* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1993), 1–41, 517–28; and Lee Morrissey, ed., *Debating the Canon: A Reader from Addison to Nafisi* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
 24. Wiltshire, "Decolonising *Mansfield Park*," 314.
 25. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–62; see Philipp Ther, "Beyond the Nation: The Relational Basis of a Comparative History of Germany and Europe," *Central European History* 36, no. 1 (2003): 45–74; and Carlos Fuentes, *Terra Nostra* (1975; Urbana-Champaign, Ill.: Dalkey Archive Press, 2003), 10.
 26. Roland Barthes, "The World as Object," in *Critical Essays*, trans. Richard Howard (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1972), 4–5; and Norman Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still-Life Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 96–136. On fifteenth- and sixteenth-century precedents, see Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: Nan A. Talese, 1996).
 27. A. I. Spriggs, "Oriental Porcelain in Western Paintings 1450–1700," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 1964–65, 1965–66 36 (1967): 73–87; Anne W. Lowenthal, "Contemplating Kalf," in *The Object as Subject: Studies in the Interpretation of Still Life*, ed. Lowenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 29–35; Peter Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza: El bodegón español en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico; Doce Calles, 1999); and Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
 28. In discussing the reception of *Las meninas*, Brown, *Velázquez*, 259, 303 n. 43, argues that it was basically a painting with "an audience of one": King Philip IV. Multiple visual and alphabetic sources, however,

- make clear that the audience and fame of the painting were much greater: Marías, "Las Meninas de Velázquez," 159–63; Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, introduction to *Velázquez's Las Meninas*, 4–5; Orso, "A Lesson Learned"; idem, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar*, 179–82; and Enriqueta Harris, "Las Meninas at Kingston Lacy," *Burlington Magazine* 132, no. 1043 (1990): 125–30; see also n. 80 below. My discussion of the audience of *Las meninas* therefore avoids questions of "X saw this" and focuses instead on issues of "it could be seen that"; cf. Foucault, *The Order of Things*, xiii. Servants who viewed *Las meninas* would have been acutely aware of the materialist knowledges I discuss, since they would have been trained in the varied needs demanded by different luxury items: caring for a porous ceramic is different from caring for a silver tray. Cf. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 75.
29. On "archives" as systems of relations actively produced, see Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969; New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 3–17; idem, *The Order of Things*, 132; Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); and Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).
 30. "Inventario de los bienes que dejaron a su muerte D. Diego de Silva Velázquez y su mujer Da. Juana Pacheco," in *Varia Velazqueña*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1960), vol. 2, 391–400.
 31. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1 (1867; New York: Penguin Books, 1976), 164, 165, and see 144, 150, 155, 184, 205.
 32. The critical works include Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 219–21; idem, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 117–20; John D. Kelly and Martha Kaplan, *Represented Communities: Fiji and World Decolonization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 30–63; and Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 3–31, 91–112.
 33. On commerce and art, see Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).
 34. When I speak of "Spain" here and below, I use the term as shorthand for the European lands ruled from Madrid in the mid- to late seventeenth century—including Naples, as one of "the kingdoms of Spain."
 35. Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del Mondo, Nuova edizione accresciuta, ricorretta, y divisa in nove volumi, con un Indice de' viaggiatori, e loro opere*, vol. 6 (Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1719), 1–3, trans. José María Agreda y Sánchez as *Viaje a la Nueva España*, vol. 1 (Mexico: Biblioteca Mínima Mexicana, 1955), 17–19.
 36. Gemelli Careri, *Giro del Mondo*, vol. 6, 2: "vasi di creta nobili che noi diciamo buccari, e specialmente quei, che fono di colore più porporino, o neri, che si sanno in Guadalaxar." On "porporino" as "color rosso," in turn defined as "Colore simile a quello de sangue, o di porpora," see *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*, vol. 3 (Florence: Stamperia dell' Accademia della Crusca, 1691), 1233, 1234, 1411. I thank Cammy Brothers and Fabio Barry for their help with Italian translations.
 37. "Inventario y tasación de los bienes de Don Fernando de Valenzuela," in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, ed. El Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle and D. José Sancho Rayon, vol. 67 (Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de Calero, 1877), 36, 189, 191, 200, 244, 245, 252.
 38. Excerpts concentrating on objects from the New World in Oñate's probate inventory were published by María Concepción García Sáiz and José Luis Barrio Moya, "Presencia de cerámica colonial mexicana en España," *Anales Instituto Investigaciones Estéticas* 58 (1987): 108–10. References to this document in the notes that follow come from my own consultation of the original, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (hereafter AHPM) 11.162, fols. 70r, 299/164v–301/166r, 357/302r–v, 62v.
 39. "Alfombra de la Yndia de Portugal," AHPM 11.162, fols. 153/15r, 156/18r, 159/21r–160/22v; ivory carvings appear in fols. 270/135r, 275/139v, 276/139r, 277/1140r.
 40. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 175, 197; AHPM 11.162, fols. 297/162v–299/164v.
 41. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 197–201, 206–8, 214–15; AHPM 11.162, fols. 351/295v–355/300v.
 42. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 180, 213, 274–75; 184, 289; AHPM 11.162, fols. 67r, 46r, 321/365r.
 43. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 182–87; AHPM 11.162, fols. 41r–50v, 385/249r–336/280v.
 44. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 238–50; AHPM 11.162, fols. 4v–8r; 12r, 17r, 19r, 21r–v; 174/36r, 178/40r–179/41v.
 45. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 146, 158; AHPM 11.162, fol. 72v.
 46. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 208; AHPM 11.162, fols. 294/158r–295/159r; 297/161r–v; 356/301r–357/302r.
 47. AHPM 11.162, fols. 294/158v–297/196v; 300/165v–303/168v.
 48. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 220–21, 229, 284–85; AHPM 11.162, fols. 9v–11r; 153/15r–160/22v; 151/13v–152/41v.
 49. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 232, 233, 254; AHPM 11.162, fols. 268/131r, 288/151r, 671/574v.
 50. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 254, 253, 256, 267, 271, 272, 143, 163, 165.
 51. "Inventario de Don Fernando," 230.
 52. AHPM 11.162, fols. 305/170v; 69r; 38r; 284/147r; 355–56/221v–222r.
 53. Note that still lifes were often painted not from life but from pre-painted "templates" depicting single objects, copied in different combinations to create different compositions. Printed images were also used as visual sources. What is important for my arguments about the Pereda and Recco canvases is that the panoply of goods they depict has strong parallels to what probate inventories reveal well-to-do people actually owned. William B. Jordan and Peter Cherry, *Spanish Still Life from Velázquez to Goya* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 29, 48–50; and Reindert Falkenberg, "Matters of Taste: Pieter Aertsen's Market Scenes, Eating Habits, and Pictorial Rhetoric in the Sixteenth Century," in Lowenthal, *The Object as Subject*, 17.
 54. On Pereda, see Diego Angulo Iníguez and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Historia de la pintura española: Escuela madrileña del segundo tercio del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983), 138–72, 225, 230–31; Jordan and Cherry, *Spanish Still Life*, 78–90; and Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza*, 521–25. On Recco, see Jordan and Cherry, *Spanish Still Life*, 147–48; *La imagen reflejada: Andalucía, espejo de Europa* (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 2007), 182–83; and "Bodegón con sirviente," Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, www.fundacionmedinacele.org/coleccion/fichaobra.aspx?id=351.
 55. For parallels to the cylindrical cup, see Soame Jenys, *Ming Pottery and Porcelain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), 191; and Fernando Tabar de Anitua, *Cerámicas de China y Japón en el Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1984), 62–63. For parallels to the round cup and "underglaze red" decoration, see Liu Liang-yu, *A Survey of Chinese Ceramics*, vol. 4, *Ming Official Ware* (Taipei: Aries Gemini Publishing, 1991), 115; and Jessica Harrison Hall, *Catalogue of Late Yuan and Ming Ceramics in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 2001), 376–77, 391. On the Wanli bowl, see George Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 8, 53, 57, 58.
 56. On the Guadalajaran origin of this style of vessels, see n. 18 above and my discussion below.
 57. See Coddington, "The Decorative Arts," 110; Sullivan, *The Language of Objects*, 22–25; and Marcy Norton, "Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 660–91.
 58. William B. Jordan, "Juan Van der Hamen y Leon" (PhD diss., New York University, 1967), 294 (1631); Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (hereafter AGN), Bienes Nacionales, Volumen 545, Expediente 8 (1649; n.p.); ibid., Volumen 387, Expediente 5 (1667), fols. 20v, 99v, Volumen 253, Expediente 3 (1668), fols. 232v, 242v. Elaborate paños often appear in still lifes with chocolate paraphernalia; see Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza*, pls. XLVII, LXXXII, LXXXVI, LXXXVII.
 59. *Talaveras en la Colección Carranza* (Talavera de la Reina: Ayuntamiento de Talavera de la Reina, 1994), 90–92; and Jordan and Cherry, *Spanish Still Life*, 51.
 60. See discussion below and Figs. 10, 11.
 61. W. B. Honey, *Glass: A Handbook for the Study of Glass Vessels of All Periods and Countries & a Guide to the Museum Collection* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1946), pl. 27. On "loza blanca de Sevilla" or "de Triana" (a neighborhood in Seville), see John M. Goggin, *Spanish Majolica in the New World*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 72 (New Haven: Department of Anthropology, Yale University, 1968), 124–26.
 62. C. H. de Jonge, *Delft Ceramics* (London: Pall Mall, 1970), 57; and Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *Iznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey* (London: Alexandria Press, 1994), 39, 143, 177, 271, 361. On Italian majolica, see Rainer G. Richter, *Götter, Helden und Grotesken: Das Goldene Zeitalter der Majolika* (Munich: Hirmer, 2006), figs. 91, 98, 104, 155; and A. V. B. Norman, *The Wallace Collection Catalog of Ceramics*, vol. 1, *Pottery, Maiolica, Faience, Stoneware* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1976), 168–287, and for the collection of sixteenth-century Italian majolica in the seventeenth century, see 19–22.

63. Maria Emilia Masci, "The Birth of Ancient Vase Collecting in Naples in the Early Eighteenth Century: Antiquarian Studies, Excavations and Collections," trans. Mark Weir, *Journal of the History of Collections* 19, no. 2 (2007): 1-10.
64. Archivo General de Notarías del Distrito Federal, Acervo Histórico, Mexico City, Notary 61 (Nicolas Bernal), Volumen 453 (1667-68), fol. 158r. On black slaves in still life paintings, see Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*, 208-13.
65. Oñate, as mentioned above, had a number of ivory images of Christ (carved in East Asia from African ivory); both Valenzuela and Oñate owned multiple ebony writing desks inlaid with ivory: "Inventario de Don Fernando," 232, 236; AHPM 11.162, fol. 35v.
66. Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art and Technology*, trans. Alison Brown (Princeton: Markus Weiner Publishers, 1995), 34-35.
67. Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents," 5; see also their critiques of the idea of a homogeneous early modern "Europe," 6.
68. According to Arjun Appadurai, "Global capital in its contemporary form is characterized by strategies of predatory mobility (across both time and space)"; Appadurai, "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination," *Public Culture* 12, no. 1 (2000): 16. "Profit depends on compressing space and time," observe Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff; neoliberal economies are marked by "unpredictable shifts in sites of production and the demand for labor"; Comaroff and Comaroff, "Occult Economies and the Violence of Abstraction: Notes from the South African Postcolony," *American Ethnologist* 26, no. 2 (1999): 293, 294. David Harvey, *The Conditions of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 351, describes "the tiger of space-time compression."
69. Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, vol. 3, *The Perspective of the World* (1979; New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 24-25; Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974); Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World-System 1250-1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); and A. G. Hopkins, ed., *Globalization in World History* (London: Pimlico, 2002).
70. Nancy Munn, *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Mary Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade, and Power* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993); and C. A. Bayly, "'Archaic' and 'Modern' Globalization in the Eurasian and African Arena, c. 1750-1850," in Hopkins, *Globalization in World History*, 47-73.
71. A. G. Hopkins, "Globalization: An Agenda for Historians," in *Globalization in World History*, 4.
72. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 71. Of course, not all commodities today gain their value from the negation of space and time (luxury imports, antiques), and critics of sweatshop production work to defetishize the far-flung geographies of everyday objects in the first world; Adrienne Pine, *Working Hard, Drinking Hard: On Violence and Survival in Honduras* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).
73. Tolnay, "Velázquez's *Las Hilanderas*," 22-24; Brown, *Velázquez*, 15-16, 25, 74, 96, 252; and Emily Umberger, "Velázquez and Naturalism," pt. 1, "Interpreting *Los Borrachos*," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 24 (1993): 29.
74. Jan Baptist Bedaux, "The Reality of Symbols: The Question of Disguised Symbolism in Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait*," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22.
75. For another exploration of the meanings of early modern substances, see Rebecca Zorach's fascinating book, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
76. On publication delays, see Antonio Palomino de Castro, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* (Madrid: L. A. de Bedmar, 1715), [dedication, n.p.]. On *Las meninas*, see idem, *El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado* (Madrid: L. A. de Bedmar, 1724), 342-43. For a discussion of the ways in which Palomino's claims are supported by independent seventeenth-century sources, see Brown, "On the Meaning of *Las Meninas*," 256-57.
77. Palomino, *El Parnaso español*, 343.
78. Ibid., 342: "A sus pies está de rodillas Doña María Agustina, menina de la Reyna, hija de Don Diego Sarmiento, administrandole agua en un bucaro."
79. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana . . . compuesta por la Real Academia Española*, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1726-39), vol. 1, 567: "Vaso de barro fino, y oloroso, en que se echa el agua para beber, y cobra un sabor agradable y fragante. Los hai de diferentes hechuras y tamaños. Vienen de Indias, y son mui estimados y preciosos"; and 694: "en el color y lustre son algo semejantes a los *barros* o búcaros que trahen de Estremoz en Portugal."
80. One seventeenth-century painting intertextually highlights the importance of the *bucaro* in *Las meninas*: the 1666 portrait of the widowed Queen Mariana of Spain by Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo (pupil and son-in-law of Velázquez). See Yves Bottineau, "A Portrait of Queen Mariana in the National Gallery," *Burlington Magazine* 97, no. 625 (1955): 114-17.
81. Scott R. Hutson and Robert Markens, "Rethinking Emic Pottery Classification," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 88 (2002): 8-27.
82. For recent studies of *búcaros*, see n. 18 above; and María Concepción García Sáiz and María Ángeles Albert de León, "Exotismo y belleza de una cerámica," *Artes de México* 14 (Spring 1991): 34-49.
83. See nn. 41, 42, 47 above.
84. Lorenzo Magalotti, *Lettere sopra i bucheri, con l'aggiunta di lettere contro l'ateismo, scientifiche ed erudite, e di relazioni varie*, ed. Mario Praz (1695; Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1945); selected Spanish translation in Magalotti, "De los búcaros de las Indias Occidentales," ed. Nadia de Levi, *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas* 8 (1972): 319-54, on geographies, see 336-45.
85. A massive collection of *búcaros* is now housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum; I thank Judith Crouch (curator of Ceramics and Glass) and Christopher Maxwell for arranging for me to see this trove in storage. A deep red, beaker-shaped *bucaro* forms part of the collections of the National Museum of Ireland (acc. no. 1880.365); I thank Sandra McElroy (assistant keeper, Art and Industrial Division) for her help in locating this piece.
86. Note that Oñate's 1684-85 inventory listed thousands of *búcaros*; only a hundred were donated to the museum in 1884. Portuguese *búcaros* are listed in two seventeenth-century museum catalogs: Lorenzo Legati, *Museo Cospiano* (Bologna: G. Monti, 1677), 272; and Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Musaeum metallicum* (Bologna: Ioannes Battista Ferronij, 1648), 228-29 (includes woodcut illustrations). In 2007, archaeological excavations at the Museu Nacional Machado de Castro in Coimbra, Portugal, uncovered over a dozen mostly intact *búcaros* securely datable to the late sixteenth century. Almost certainly produced in Portugal, they are terra-cotta in color and only lightly burnished. These pieces were on display in the 2009 exhibit *De forum a museu—permanências*; see Jorge Alarcão et al., *O Fórum de Aeminium: A busca do desenho original* (Lisbon: Instituto Português dos Museus e da Conservação, in collaboration with the Instituto de Arqueologia da Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra, 2009).
87. García Sáiz and Ángeles Albert, "La cerámica de Tonalá," 51.
88. See *Rouge et or: Trésors du Portugal baroque* (Portugal: Gabinete das Relações Internacionais, 2001), 192-99.
89. Compare the two different reds shown in the *búcaros* of Francisco Palacios's 1648 painting *Bodegón con frutas y enfriador de vino*, or the many still lifes of Juan Van der Hamen y León, which consistently reveal two different *bucaro* surface styles placed together, one deep red and glossy, the other a dull terra-cotta with a matte surface rough with temper. Deep red and glossy *búcaros* appear in Van der Hamen y León's 1627 *Bodegón con dulces y cerámica* in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and in a canvas attributed to him in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid (acc. no. 1.175). Matte terra-cotta-colored *búcaros* are shown in another painting in the Real Academia (acc. no. 1.173) and one in the Museo del Prado (acc. no. 1164).
90. Jordan and Cherry, *Spanish Still Life*, 90.
91. See Jeffrey P. Blomster, Hector Neff, and Michael D. Glascock, "Olmec Pottery Production and Export in Ancient Mexico Determined through Elemental Analysis," *Science* 307, no. 5712 (2005): 1068-72.
92. Private collection, Madrid; see <http://www.oronoz.com/paginas/leefoto.php?referencia=132413&usuario=anonimo>; see also Mariás, "Las Meninas de Velázquez," 261.
93. Serrera, "El palacio como taller."
94. A 1564 inventory of the Palacio de El Pardo lists "quatro barillos de portugal colorados," which F. J. Sánchez Cantón identifies as "búcaros de Estremoz de barro perfumado"; Sánchez Cantón, ed., "El primer inventario del Palacio de El Pardo (1564)," *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 10, no. 28 (1934): 74. When the probate inventories of King Philip II of Spain (d. 1598) were completed in 1607, they specified *búcaros* made of "barro de Badajoz," "barro de Estremoz," and "barro colorado"; Sánchez Cantón, ed., *Inventarios Reales: Bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1959), 217. Ambrosio de Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (Alcalá de Henares: Iuan Iniguez de Lequerica, 1575), 3r, lists only Portugal as a site for the production of *búcaros* in his 1575 discussion of antiquities

- in Spain; Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco does the same in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o español* (1611; Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1995), 209–10. See also n. 88 above.
95. On the placement of ceramic vessels on silver trays, see Luis Carlos Gutiérrez Alonso, "Precisiones a la cerámica de los bodegones de Luis Egidio Meléndez," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 4, no. 12 (1983): 165–66.
 96. Ward Barrett, "World Bullion Flows, 1450–1800," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World 1350–1750*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 245. See also Hermann Kellenbenz, "The Organization of Industrial Production," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 5, *The Economic Organization of Early Modern Europe*, ed. E. E. Rich and C. H. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 488–91; John Nef, *The Conquest of the Material World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 42–43, 61–64; and D. A. Brading and Harry E. Cross, "Colonial Silver Mining: Mexico and Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 52, no. 4 (1972): 545.
 97. Barrett, "World Bullion Flows," 242–44. Barrett critiques earlier views that saw an overall decline in silver production in the seventeenth as compared with the sixteenth century; see Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934). For the rises and falls of silver production in Potosí and Zacatecas, see Peter Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Zacatecas 1546–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 181–236; Brading and Cross, "Colonial Silver Mining," 568–79; and Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosí 1545–1650* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 25–32.
 98. Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 62–63; and Hamilton, *American Treasure*, 291–94.
 99. Ruth Pike, "The Image of the Genoese in the Golden Age of Literature," *Hispania* 46, no. 4 (1963): 709–11; J. H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), chap. 1; Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, "The American Empire and the Spanish Economy: An Institutional and Regional Perspective," *Revista de Historia Económica* 16, no. 1 (1998): 133–36.
 100. Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, *El pasagero* (1617; Madrid: Renacimiento, 1913), 20: "Los Indias destos son nuestra España, de quien sacan tantos tesoros."
 101. Hamilton, *American Treasure*, 89.
 102. Luis Valle de la Cerda, *Desempeño del patrimonio* (Madrid, 1618), 155v–156r.
 103. Baltasar Gracián, *El crítico, segunda parte* (Huesca: Ivan Nogués, 1653), quoted in Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), 98–99.
 104. Hamilton, *American Treasure*, 46, 65–66, 89–90. On *vellón*, see Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 300, 329–30, 344, 352–53, 361, 365.
 105. Francisco de Quevedo, *Obra poética*, ed. José Manuel Blecua, 3 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1969), vol. 1, 220, 286, vol. 2, 160, 514, vol. 3, 12, 289.
 106. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 258–61.
 107. Thomas B. F. Cummins, "Let Me See! Reading Is for Them: Colonial Andean Images and Objects 'como es costumbre tener los caciques Señores,'" in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Cummins (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 118–30.
 108. On the reflection and the painting's ambiguous perspective, see Brown, *Velázquez*, 259; and Avigdor Arikha, "Velázquez: Pintor Real," in *On Depiction: Selected Writings on Art 1965–94* (London: Bellew Publishing, 1995), 56–59.
 109. Archivo del Palacio Real, Madrid, Legajo 904, n.p., documents for 1658 and 1659, both beginning "Don Francisco Ysidro de Colmenares Tapiçero mayor."
 110. Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 908.
 111. *Ibid.*, 274: "seda teñida con su polvo."
 112. This *Memorial* was included in a 1620 Real Cédula (royal decree); it was published in Nicolás Rangel, "Reales Cédulas," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 2, no. 4 (1931): 481–506, at 498.
 113. On *grana* as a type of woolen, see *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, vol. 2 (1729), 71.
 114. Gloria Fernández Bayton, ed., *Inventarios Reales: Testamentaria del Rey Carlos II; 1701–1703*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1975), 348. Changes in palace decoration schemes were minimal in the second half of the seventeenth century; Brown, *Velázquez*, 101; and Moffitt, *Velázquez in the Alcázar Palace*, 296.
 115. [Jean Baptiste Colbert], *Instruction Générale pour la Teinture des Laines et Manufactures* (Paris: François Muguet, 1671), 167.
 116. *Memorias sobre la grana hermes de España* (n.p., ca. 1758), Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Asignatura VC/1136/2, 6. The author distinguishes European "kermes" from New World "cochinilla," the latter being the source of the color called (as in Colbert, *Instruction Générale*) "Grana de Olanda."
 117. Huguette Chaunu and Pierre Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique (1504–1650)*, vol. 6 (Paris: SEVPEN, 1956), 980; comparable statistics appear in Raymond L. Lee, "Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600," *Americas* 4 (1948): 458–59; calculations are based on Lee's measure of 25 pounds to 1 arroba and .45 kilograms to 1 pound. Raymond L. Lee, "American Cochineal in European Commerce, 1526–1625," *Journal of Modern History* 23, no. 3 (1951): 206.
 118. Lee, "American Cochineal," 219; compare with Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, 980, and *Memorial*, 501.
 119. According to Lutgado García Fuentes, *El comercio español con América, 1650–1700* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1980), 509, only 5,500 pounds were registered in Seville in 1650, and these low levels continued until the end of the century—but given the massive amounts of cochineal imported during the eighteenth century, this apparent decline may be due to documentary inadequacy. For eighteenth-century imports, see Carla Rahn Phillips, "The Growth and Composition of Trade in the Iberian Empires, 1450–1750," in Tracy, *The Rise of Merchant Empires*, 80–81; and Jeremy Baskes, *Indians, Merchants, and Markets: A Reinterpretation of the Repartimiento and Spanish-Indian Economic Relations in Colonial Oaxaca, 1750–1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 11.
 120. Kahr, "Velázquez and *Las Meninas*," 228.
 121. *Varia Velazqueña*, vol. 2, 281. Both Michael Schreffler and Dana Leibsohn have asked whether cochineal was used to color Velázquez's oil paints. Unfortunately, chemical analysis has been able to determine only that the "red lake" he used was based on an organic pigment. Carmen Garrido Pérez, *Velázquez: Técnica y evolución* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1992), 26–28.
 122. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Las Meninas y sus personajes* (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1943).
 123. Norbert Elias, *Involvement and Detachment*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. Michael Schröter (1983; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), lxii–lxvi. Briefer comments on the royal households represented in *Las Meninas* also appear in essays by Kahr, "Velázquez and *Las Meninas*," 225; Brown, "On the Meaning of *Las Meninas*," 92; Snyder, "*Las Meninas* and the Mirror of the Prince," 564; and Thomas L. Glen, "Should Sleeping Dogs Lie? Once Again, *Las Meninas* and the Mise-en-Scène," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 12, no. 3 (1993): 30–36.
 124. Marías, "El género de *Las Meninas*," 255–56. See also n. 28 above.
 125. Richard Graham, *Independence in Latin America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 6–7; Marvin Goldwert, "The Search for the Lost Father-Figure in Spanish American History: A Freudian View," *Americas* 34, no. 4 (1978): 532–36; Roberto González Echevarría, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 55; and Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father-King: Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).
 126. Craig Clunas, "Review Essay: Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 5 (1999): 1510; Jean-Christophe Agnew, "Coming Up for Air: Consumer Culture in Historical Perspective," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 19–39; Daniel Miller, "Consumption as the Vanguard of History: A Polemic by Way of Introduction," in *Acknowledging Consumption* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 16–18, 26–27; Matthew Hunter, "Iconoclasm and Consumption; or, Household Management according to Thomas Cromwell," in *Iconoclasm: Contested Images, Contested Terms*, ed. Richard Clay and Stacy Boldrick (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2007), 51–74; and Lauro Martines, "The Renaissance and the Birth of Consumer Society," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (1998): 193–203.
 127. Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (1982; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985); Marshall Sahlins, "Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of 'The World System'" (1988), in *Culture in Practice: Selected Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Zone Books, 2000), 415–69; idem, "The Sadness of Sweetness; or, The Native Anthropology of Western Cosmology," *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 3 (1996): 395–427; and Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996).
 128. W. J. T. Mitchell, "Beyond Comparison: Picture, Text, and Method," in *Picture Theory*, 90.

129. Antonio de Figueroa, "Relación," in Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), Mapas y Planos, Estampas 70; document originally filed in AGI, Guatemala 14 R3, N51, no. 8. Figueroa's cochineal is also mentioned in a Real Cédula of 1620 (see n. 112 above), and the circulation of copies of his alphabetic *relación* to Venezuela and Santa Marta, complete with its painted image, is suggested in AGI, Santo Domingo 869 L7, fol. 95v.
130. AGI, Mapas y Planos, Estampas 70, fol. 3r. In the seventeenth century, as in the twenty-first, *retrato* primarily referred to a picture of a specific person: "la figura contrahecha de alguna persona . . . por memoria a los siglos venideros" (the imitative figure of someone . . . as a memorial for coming centuries). Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 864.
131. AGI, Mapas y Planos, Estampas 70, fol. 4r: "Esta es figura de un nopal esta de todo punto cultivado y la cochi / nilla a enjambrado bien y ansi están los yndios goçando de su cosecha" (This is a figure of a nopal; it is fully grown and the cochineal has spread well and thus the Indians are enjoying its harvest).
132. For the complex issues involved in "portraits of the Other," see Sullivan, *The Language of Objects*, 37–48; and Bernard Smith, "Captain Cook's Artists and the Portrayal of Pacific Peoples," *Art History* 7, no. 3 (1984): 297–312.
133. Bryan R. Just, personal communication with author, October 30, 2006; and Scott R. Hutson, personal communication with author, July 7, 2008.
134. See Esther Pasztory, *Aztec Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1983), 86, 200; and John Monaghan, "The Feathered Serpent in Oaxaca: An Approach to the Study of the Mixtec Codices," *Expedition* 31, no. 1 (1989): 18.
135. "Inventario de Velázquez," 399.
136. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, "Los libros españoles que poseyó Velázquez," in *Varia Velazqueña*, vol. 1, 640–48.
137. Theodor de Bry, *Americae pars sexta* (Frankfurt, 1596), frontispiece.
138. Theodor de Bry, *Americae nona postrima* (Frankfurt, 1601), pl. 3.
139. On Theodor de Bry's creation of illustrations for previously unillustrated or minimally illustrated texts, see Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon, 1975), 68–78; and Henry Keazor, "Theodore de Bry's Images for America," *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (1998): 131–49.
140. De Bry, *Americae pars sexta*, 74; and Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World* (1565; London: Hakluyt Society, 1857), 255.
141. José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville: Juan de Leon, 1590). See also David A. Lupher, *Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 189–234.
142. Acosta, *Historia natural*, 214: "Plinio dize, que en Italia ay muchos metales, pero que los antiguos no consintieron beneficiarse por conseruar la gente. De España los trayá, y como a tributarios, hazian a los Españoles labrar minas. Lo proprio haze agora España con Indias, que auiedo todavia en España sin duda mucha riqueza de metales, no se dan a buscarlos, ni aun se consiente labrar por los inconvenientes que se veen; y de Indias traen tanta riqueza, donde el buscalla, y sacalla no cuesta poco trabajo. . . ." See de Bry, *Americae nona postrima*, 147–49.
143. Acosta, *Historia natural*, 214–17; see also Bakewell, *Silver Mining*.
144. Acosta, unlike Figueroa in his discussion of cochineal, does not discuss how these miners came to work at Potosí; from twentieth-century scholarship we can say that by the time Acosta was writing and de Bry was engraving, about half of the Amerindians working at Potosí were forced-labor *mita* draftees and half were *mingas*, free workers who hired themselves out to mine owners; Bakewell, *Miners*, 121–35, 181.
145. Such scanty dress would have been absurd in Potosí's cool high altitude; in contrast, a late-sixteenth-century depiction of mining at Potosí depicts workers in long tunics and brimmed hats; *ibid.*, 5, 31.
146. Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's "Great Voyages"* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 17.
147. *Ibid.*, 32–35; Honour, *The New Golden Land*, 75–78; John Shearman, *Mannerism* (London: Penguin Books, 1967), 81–91; and Keazor, "Theodore de Bry's Images," 145–46.
148. Giovanni Francisco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del Mondo*, vol. 6 (Naples: Giuseppe Roselli, 1699–1700), 134. For general information on silver mining at Pachuca, see Woodrow Borah, "New Spain's Century of Depression," *Ibero-Americano* 35 (1951): 26; and Alan Probert, "Silver Quest: Episodes of Mining in New Spain," *Journal of the West* 14, no. 2 (1975): 5–142.
149. Leather bags were also used to carry ore in seventeenth-century Zacatecas; Bakewell, *Silver Mining*, 134.
150. Gemelli Careri, *Giro del Mondo*, vol. 1, 128–41. Although, again like Acosta, Gemelli Careri fails to discuss why Amerindians are working in the mines of Pachuca, from twentieth-century scholarship we know that, in contrast to late-sixteenth-century Potosí, by the mid-seventeenth century very few Amerindians working at Pachuca were part of forced-labor drafts: most were hired workers. And, unlike in Potosí, and unmentioned by Gemelli Careri, black slaves were an important part of mining throughout New Spain. Borah, "New Spain's Century," 26; and Bakewell, *Silver Mining*, 123.
151. Indeed, this European costuming has led some interpreters (who apparently have not read the accompanying *relación*) to interpret only the *Retrato*'s woman as a Native American. The man is claimed to be a "mixed-race" mestizo, an assumption based on the ideologies of later *castas* paintings. See Rafael Ramos Sosa, "Cultivo de la grana o cochinilla," in *Los siglos de oro en los virreinos de América 1550–1700* (Madrid: Museo de América, 1999), 219.
152. A 1772 map of Tonalá and its surroundings is glossed "Pueblo de Tonalá, tiene 449 tributarios y 17 familias de razón, su trato es hacer loza vidriada y jarros que llaman de Guadalajara" (The town of Tonalá has 449 tribute-payers and 17 registered families; its specialty is making glazed ceramics and pitchers that are called "Guadalajaran"); AGI, Mapas y Planos, México 285. A key study of seventeenth-century Guadalajara is Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII: Población y economía* (Guadalajara: Ediciones Guadalajara 450 Años and Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1992), 260–62, 292 for Tonalá ceramics, 416 for the Amerindian purchase of European-style felt hats.
153. Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos de Guadalajara (hereafter AIPG), Tierras y Aguas, Segunda Colección, Legajo 9, Volumen 25, Expediente 13. I thank Lic. Mayra González Jaime for bringing this document to my attention.
154. AIPG, Tierras y Aguas, Segunda Colección, Legajo 68, Volumen 272, Expediente 14. See Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675–1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 294–342, on the conflicts that arose in the eighteenth century in the Guadalaran region over land-ownership versus use rights.
155. AIPG, Tierras y Aguas, Segunda Colección, Legajo 33, Libro 131, Expediente 18.
156. Margaret E. Connors McQuade discusses a 1792 account of the production of burnished ceramics in Tonalá in her catalog entry on *bucaros* in Rishel and Stratton-Pruitt, *Tesoros*, 116.
157. Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco, Guadalajara (hereafter BPEJ), Bienes de Difuntos, Caja 217, Expediente 35. Somoza had worked in the Audiencia (royal court) since at least 1675; BPEJ, Civil Caja 295, Expediente 19.
158. BPEJ, Bienes de Difuntos, Caja 217, Expediente 35, fol. 1r: "por el porte de dichas cajones a razon de nueve p.^a por carga treinta y seis p."
159. *Ibid.*, fol. 3v: "vna misma mano por la formazion de la letra."
160. *Ibid.*: "Dixo que la forma de las letras de dhas firmas paresen vna misma, aunque con la bariedad que de ellas mismas se reconose, asi por la ante posision y posposicion de letras como porque en vnas dise vrega, brega, y biega, aunque la firma y rubrica parese vna misma."
161. *Ibid.*, fol. 4r: "Dixo que la forma y Corte de las tres firmas Combienen con la del bale ya el pareser segun la forma y rubricas dellas son vnas mismas y de vna misma forma todas por combenir munchas letras de ellas vnas con otras segun lo que tiene reconosido y que el bariar y posponer letras es el poco curso que debia de tener la persona que las echo en el escribir."
162. Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 108–13.
163. BPEJ, Bienes de Difuntos, Caja 217, Expediente 35, fol. 2v: "y assi mismo de las señas de la persona y traza de dho Andres de Brega, que son ser el susso dho vn hombre muy pequeño de cuerpo, de pelo crespo y bermejo, los ojos zarcos de color azul muy clara y enjuto de carnes."
164. *Ibid.*, fol. 5r: "es vn hombre pequeño de cuerpo, bermejo de poco pelo algo corto, crespo ojos sarcos, delgado de cara y lanpino."
165. *Ibid.*, fol. 5v: "y que dho Andres de brega le conosio que viuia deuaxo de los portales de la plassa y queera vn moso pequeño de cuerpo delgado de cara bermexo del pelo corto y crespo sarco."
166. *Ibid.*, fol. 6r: "era vn moso pequeño de cuerpo, delgado de cara el pelo crespo y bermexo y los ojos sarcos."
167. On the history of criminal portraiture in Europe from the thirteenth

- to the seventeenth century, see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 248–63.
168. José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 258–59.
 169. See discussions in Brown, “On the Meaning of *Las Meninas*”; and Alpers, “Interpretation without Representation.”
 170. Peter Cherry has discussed similar “axial symbolism” in Velázquez’s *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*; see Cherry, “Los bodegones de Velázquez y la verdadera imitación del natural,” in *Velázquez y Sevilla: Estudios* (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 1999), 87.
 171. Kelly and Kaplan, *Represented Communities*, 64; a reading of Velázquez’s *Las hilanderas* in the context of Spain’s economic crisis is made by Ricardo Sanmartín in “Meninas, espejos, e hilanderas,” in *Meninas, espejos e hilanderas: Ensayos en antropología del arte* (Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2005), 215–45.
 172. On this audience—both before the painting was completed and after it was hanging in the king’s chambers in the Alcázar—see n. 28 above.
 173. See Umberger, “Interpreting *Las Meninas*,” 112; and Sanmartín, “Meninas, espejos, e hilanderas,” 235–37.
 174. Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, *Avisos de Madrid de los Austrias y otras noticias*, ed. José María Díez Borque (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1996), 31.
 175. *Ibid.*, 83: “Por las cuentas de la hacienda de Su Magestad en los libros de su contaduría ha sacado el reino tiene su Magestad en limpio de renta 27 millones, no llegando a sus manos seis, habiendo muchos días en las casas del Rey y Reina falta de todo, hasta de pan.”
 176. *Ibid.*: “El día de San Mateo no hubo en palacio qué comer, y fue necesario que don Juan de Góngora socorriese este aprieto.”
 177. *Ibid.*, 82.
 178. Brown, *Velázquez*, 216; Manuel Espada Burgos, “Velázquez y el abasto de la leña a las reales cocinas,” *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 13 (1976): 123–28; and *Varia Velazqueña*, vol. 2, 378.
 179. Brown, *Velázquez*, 216–17; and Barrionuevo, *Avisos de Madrid*, 84.
 180. Barrionuevo, *Avisos de Madrid*, 83–84: “Dos meses y medio há que no se dan en Palacio las raciones acostumbradas, que no tiene el Rey un real, y el día de San Francisco le pusieron a la Infanta un capón que mandó levantar porque hedía como perros muertos. Siguíole un pollo de que gusta, sobre unas rabanadillas como torrijas, llenas de moscas y se enojó de suerte que por poco no da con todo en tierra.”
 181. Theodore K. Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).
 182. Brown, *Velázquez*, 208.
 183. *Varia Velazqueña*, vol. 2, 301–66.
 184. As one final American detail in the biography of Velázquez, note that when he was an apprentice to Francisco Pacheco, his Sevillian master repeatedly completed paintings for the Indies trade. Elizabeth Du Gué Trapier, *Velázquez* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1948), 3–7.
 185. Jonathan Brown and Carmen Garrido, *Velázquez: The Technique of Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 18, 26, 28, 51, 76, 133, 141, 176; and Brown, *Velázquez*, 183. On Velázquez’s dynamic use of drawings, see Gridley McKim-Smith, “On Velázquez’s Working Method,” *Art Bulletin* 61, no. 4 (1979): 589–603.
 186. Gridley McKim-Smith, Greta Andersen-Bergdoll, and Richard Newman, *Examining Velázquez* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 78–80; and Brown and Garrido, *Velázquez: The Technique*, 191.
 187. Common orientations for research on European–Amerindian interactions in colonial Spanish America are outlined in James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 2–5.
 188. Fuentes, *The Buried Mirror*, 10.
 189. Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 2.
 190. Claire Farago, “Editor’s Introduction: Reframing the Renaissance,” in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 1–20.
 191. Marx, *Capital*, 353, 413, 414, 925; Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944); and Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*.
 192. George Kubler, “On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-Columbian Art,” in *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Architecture*, ed. Samuel Lothrop (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 14–34.
 193. Nancy Troike, introduction to *Codex Zouche-Nuttall* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1987); and Carmen Cerezo, “Especulaciones,” in *Mágia, mentiras y maravillas de las Indias: Catálogo de la exposición* (Huelva: Diputación Provincial de Huelva and Museo de América, 1994), 35–52.
 194. Detlef Heikamp, with contributions by Ferdinand Anders, *Mexico and the Medici* (Florence: Editrice Edam, 1972); Christian Feest, “Vienna’s Mexican Treasures: Aztec, Mixtec, and Tarascan Works from Sixteenth-Century Austrian Collections,” *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 44 (1990): 1–64; and Honour, *The New Golden Land*, 28–51.
 195. Jean Michel Massing, “Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach,” in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, ed. Jay A. Levenson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 514–20; and Elizabeth Hill Boone, *The Codex Magliabechiano and the Lost Prototype of the Magliabechiano Group* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 47–52.
 196. Foucault, *The Order of Things*, returns to *Las meninas* on 307–12.
 197. *Ibid.*, xi.
 198. *Ibid.*, 14.
 199. *Ibid.*, 7–8.
 200. *Ibid.*, 5.
 201. John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1992), 27–30.
 202. J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 7, 8, 12–13, 18, 21–22; and idem, “Final Reflections: The Old World and the New Revisited,” in *America in European Consciousness 1493–1750*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 392–95. See Dean and Leibsohn, “Hybridity and Its Discontents,” 11–13, 22–23.
 203. Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 6.
 204. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Clunas, “Review Essay,” 1503–5, for discussions of this kind of citational asymmetry.